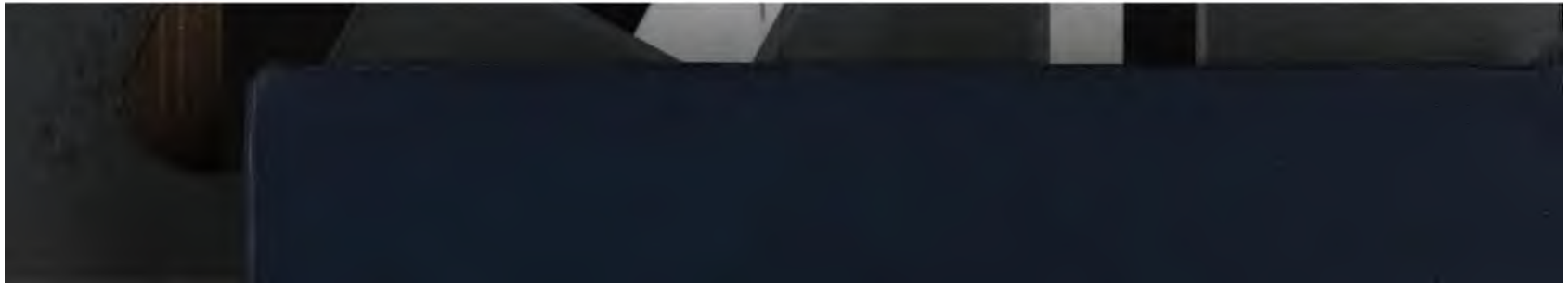


ANNEX

FEMINISM IN GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA

BY

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PREFACE

This book is an attempt to bring some of the main aspects of German and Scandinavian feminism into closer touch with the woman movement of the English-speaking countries. For want of adequate accounts and specific reports of feminist activities abroad, there is a mistaken impression in this country that the German woman, for instance, still sleeps silently in a home-spun cocoon. The belief exists, even in enlightened suffrage circles, that the German women are a leaderless and hopelessly domesticated group and are content to remain so. This impression is due to our meager knowledge. English translations of the literature of continental feminism are few, and almost the only foreign echoes which have gained currency in this country are obviously misrepresentative; such as, what the German Emperor regards as woman's sphere, what the German Empress thinks of woman suffrage, and what Schopenhauer has written against the sex. This is as if the American suffrage movement were to be represented abroad by

quotations from Mr. Elihu Root and Senator Bowdle. It therefore seemed desirable that the opinions of these ex-officio anti-feminists should at least be balanced by some account of the feminist movement abroad according to representative sources.

For the historical aspects, I have drawn largely upon the comprehensive "Handbuch" of the international woman's movement, edited by Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer. Developments since 1901 were traced through periodicals and monographs of recent date. As interpretation, rather than criticism, was my aim, it may sometimes seem as if I have given too much praise to the German and Scandinavian women and their way of doing things. Perhaps so; but they have, for many years, set the bad example of giving us more praise than we deserve.

Certainly we have as much to learn from the European feminists as they have to learn from us. The suffrage movement in this country is approaching a successful climax; the hour-glass must be turned promptly. Otherwise the continuity of the feminist advance will be broken and the acquired momentum squandered. These chapters from the work of the other feminists may offer some suggestions as

to the activities which should engage the collective attention of the American woman movement when it has at last been released from the long struggle for political rights.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

New Fairfield, Connecticut.
July 28, 1915.

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FEMINISM IN GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA

CHAPTER I

THE COALESCENCE OF THE EUROPEAN WOMEN

I

The woman movement of the civilized world wants much the same things in whatever language its demands are expressed. In more or less unconscious coöperation, the women of the civilized nations have, from the first, worked for similar ends and common interests. Beyond all superficial differences and incidental forms, the vision of the emancipated woman wears the same features, whether she be hailed as *frau, fru,* or *woman.* The disfranchisement of a whole sex, a condition which has existed throughout the civilized world until a comparatively recent date, has bred in half the population an unconscious internationalism. The man without a country was a

tragic exception; the woman without a country was the accepted rule. The enfranchisement of women now under way has come too late to inculcate in them the narrow views of citizenship which were once supposed to accompany the gift of the vote. Its effect will rather be to make the unconscious internationalism of the past the conscious internationalism of the future.

There are, however, two main currents of the woman's movement whose differences cannot be ignored. But in these differences lies no real conflict. Their relation is supplementary. They function together like the right eye and the left eye in a single act of vision. Indeed, the three inches of difference in point of view between the right and left orbs are said to represent one of the most brilliant pieces of nature's engineering on record. The two main branches of the woman movement, which find their expression respectively in the Anglo-American groups and the Teuto-Scandinavian groups, are each incomplete without the other.

For certain historical reasons, which need not be discussed here, the feminist movement of England and America has developed along other lines than the feminist movement of continental Europe. Among the feminists of the

Germanic and the Scandinavian states, there exists a natural concert of ideas—an intellectual neighborliness which corresponds to the geographical neighborliness of their positions. On the other hand, the feminists of England and America have, through their possession of a common language, arrived at a certain kinship of thought and community of emphasis which mark them off as a group from the feminists of the European continent. So far as the more immediate goals are concerned, continental feminism and Anglo-American feminism seem to have adopted a definite division of labor.

The difference is most strikingly brought out in the two most famous slogans of twentieth century feminism. These are the English slogan, "Votes for Women," and the German slogan, "Mutterschutz." Neither phrase is wholly translatable into the language of the other, for each carries in the original a world of emotional appeal which is incapable of a foreign rendering. The "protection of motherhood" is a colorless transcription of Mutterschutz, and no possible combination of German words can give the note of hastening solidarity that rings to-day in "Votes for Women."

"We are sick of slogans," said a prominent

woman leader in Germany recently, "we are past all that." What she expressed was only a natural and promising reaction against the period of high enthusiasm in which all great movements are born and which must be followed up by indefatigable constructive work if the great idea is not to remain sterile. Nevertheless, the value of a successful slogan to the movement which produces it cannot be denied, and without doubt feminism owes a substantial debt to the inventors of two of the most familiar rallying cries of the new century. They have proved to be the most powerful carriers of the dominating ideas of the modern woman's movement—the emancipation of woman both as a human-being and as a sex-being. Their origin is worth recounting, not only because of their accelerating influence on the woman movement but also for the reason that they were contributed by two courageous and effective leaders, who have suffered public ignominy on behalf of their ideals and thereby helped to show just how little the big gods of respectability are to the really brave woman. The fact that Emmeline Pankhurst, a highly cultivated woman, has served a jail sentence seems to have no influence on her social position; and the fact that Ruth Bré, another cultivated woman, has pub-

licly acknowledged herself to be an illegitimate daughter, has had equally little influence on her public standing.

II

Ruth Bré, the author of the phrase "Mutterschutz," and the organizer of the Union for the Protection of Motherhood (Bund für Mutterschutz) writes:

I call to mind the 12th of November, 1904, which is to be regarded as the birthday of the Mutterschutz movement. Several weeks before I had sent out a call through the Press: "Unmarried mothers who are seeking a place in the world where they can keep their children with them and rear them themselves can find a home and occupation immediately in the country." Whereupon so many mothers presented themselves that I did not know what to do with them. But supporters and friends also appeared. Together with the two first supporters, for it takes three to make an Alliance, on the 12th of November, 1904, in Leipzig, at the Hotel Sachsendorf, I founded the "Bund für Mutterschutz." On that occasion, the word "Mutterschutz" was coined —coined by myself.[1]

In her recently published autobiography, Mrs. Pankhurst tells how the "Votes for

[1] *Mutterschutz in Theorie und Praxis*, by Ernst Rudolphi, with a preface by Ruth Bré, p. 4.

Women" slogan originated in the English political campaign in the fall of 1905. She writes:

> We determined to address ourselves to the men who were likely to be in the Liberal Cabinet, demanding to know whether their reforms were going to include justice to women. We laid our plans to begin this work at a great meeting to be held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, with Sir Edward Grey as the principal speaker. We intended to get seats in the gallery, directly facing the platform, and we made for the occasion a large banner with the words, "Will the Liberal Party Give Votes for Women?" We were to let this banner down over the gallery rails at the moment when our speaker rose to put the question to Sir Edward Grey. At the last moment, however, we had to alter the plan because it was impossible to get the gallery seats we wanted. There was no way in which we could use our large banner, so, late in the afternoon on the day of the meeting, we cut out and made a small banner with the three-word inscription, "Votes for Women." Thus, quite accidentally, there came into existence the present slogan of the suffrage movement round the world.[2]

The Manchester meeting, at which the women questioners were mishandled and militancy was born, took place on October 13, 1905, less

[2] *My Own Story*, by Emmeline Pankhurst, p. 45.

than a year following the inauguration of the Mutterschutz propaganda in Germany. The struggle for the franchise and for the protection of maternity were long-standing issues, but the events of 1905 ushered in a decade of momentum and cohesion such as the woman movement had never before known.

Searching back a little farther into the origin of the twin campaigns of the modern woman's movement, we find that Mrs. Pankhurst received her inspiration from an American, and Frau Bré from a Scandinavian. The visit of Susan B. Anthony to England in 1902, and her stay in Manchester aroused Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters to take up the political struggle which the aged American leader was about to leave unfinished. Similarly, Ruth Bré was handed the torch by a foreign hand. The great popularity of Ellen Key's writings in Germany, and especially the German edition of *Love and Marriage,* which appeared early in the year 1904, was the timely stimulus to the movement which resulted in the formation of the "Union for the Protection of Motherhood." The overwhelming effect of Ellen Key's ideas in Germany, as well as in her own country, the passionate for-and-against which has raged round her as a center, makes it hard to under-

stand the extremely platonic attitude of English and American feminists toward the whole Ellen Key program. It is still true that the spirit of Susan B. Anthony guides the woman movement of this country to the exclusion of all foreign influence.

In short, the struggle for political liberty has fallen to the share of the English and American women and the fight for moral autonomy has fallen to the share of the German and Scandinavian women. The extreme feminists of both groups have pushed on into fields of controversy which have estranged the more conservative spirits of their own ranks but which have nevertheless been the logical outgrowth of the self-same faith. The feminism of the English-speaking countries has culminated in the militancy of the English suffragettes, and the feminism of the German-speaking countries has culminated in the literary propaganda—much abused but little understood in this country—for a "new morality" (*Die Neue Ethik*).

So completely have we, the political column of the woman movement, accepted our specialty that people are just now beginning to discover that feminism means more than suffragism; that the ballot for the ballot's sake

is not the whole meaning of the suffrage agitation; that the political demands of women are inseparable from the social, educational, and economic demands of the whole feminist movement. It is a familiar charge of the anti-suffragists that suffrage is a cloak for feminism. Correspondingly, continental feminism is associated with revolutionary educational and moral ideas rather than with the agitation for the franchise. A heated anti-feminist orator, addressing a Berlin audience, exposed what he called the secret aim of feminism. What these emancipated women really were after, he said impressively, was the vote!

III

To the American observer there is much food for reflection in the outspoken feminism of the continental movement. One sees very little evidence of truckling to narrow-minded criticism. All questions of importance are thrashed out in the open, at conventions and in the feminist press. The consequence is that the foreign movement has developed a very strong power of self-direction and a keen, steady consciousness of woman's varied interests as a sex.

One cause, though not the only one, of their more aggressive self-expression is the consciousness of being in the majority. On the continent, as well as in England, the "surplus women" were already a problem before the outbreak of the war. In Germany, there were 800,000 superfluous women, and in Austria-Hungary 600,000, making a total of 1,400,000. Likewise, in the four Scandinavian states, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, the women outnumber the men by nearly 300,000. That grave social changes must result from this disturbance of the natural balance of the sexes is a foregone conclusion. The impetus thus given to the woman movement will be no less powerful because it is not of their own seeking. The industrial revolution also gave a great impetus to the woman movement, which was not of its own seeking, but the impetus is none the less powerful and cumulative.

The greater autonomy of the European woman movement is most definitely seen in the number and kind of periodicals which interpret the movement to the public. That the women who write the leaders and articles in a dozen or two of fortnightly and monthly journals should have no voice in the councils of the nation is an official betrayal by the German

government of that on which it professes, as a state, to place the highest moral value—Kultur. These feminist periodicals correspond in purpose to the American suffrage journals. But in no sense are they to be compared with the so-called women's magazines, the commercialized monthly journals which really exploit, with cold-blooded cunning, all the immaturities in woman which feminism is trying so laboriously to remove.

On the continent, however, the woman's press has attained substantial dimensions. Beginning with *Neue Bahnen* (New Paths) in 1867, it has steadily increased in volume and excellence, mirroring in its various journals the progress of the age of reason in the woman's world. All phases of feminism are discussed in their columns, and their intellectual hospitality and devotion to free speech are evidenced by the range of subjects treated, embracing, as it does, everything from the servant problem to the new morality. Even the special organ of the "moderates," *Die Frau,* has opened its columns from time to time to the exponents of the new ethics propaganda, though its teachings have been definitely repudiated by the organized Frauen-Bewegung of Germany. But to stifle discussion and pro-

nounce the taboo is not the way the feminist journals have chosen.

Besides the *Neue Bahnen,* edited at present by Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, other well-known periodicals are *Die Frau* (Woman), edited by Helene Lange; *Die Frauenfrage* (The Woman Question), edited by Marie Stritt; *Die Frauen Bewegung* (The Woman Movement), edited by Minna Cauer; *Die Gleichheit* (Equality), edited by Clara Zetkin; *Mutterschutz,* edited by Helene Stöcker; *Frauen-Kapital* (Woman's Capital), edited by Marie Raschke; *Die Frau der Gegenwart* (The Woman of To-day), edited by Marie Wegner; *Frauen-Kultur und Frauen-Kleidung* (Woman's Culture and Woman's Clothing), edited by Clara Sander and Else Wirminghaus; *Deutsche Hausfrauenzeitung* (German Housewives' Paper) edited by Lina Morgenstern. In Zürich is published the *Frauen-Stimmrecht* (Woman Suffrage), edited by Gilonne Brüstlein, the most prominent woman lawyer of Switzerland, and counting among its contributors Olive Schreiner, Ellen Key, and others whose fame is not only continental but international. In Vienna the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (Working Woman's Paper) is ed-

ited by Adelheid Popp; the *Nylaende* (The New Ground), edited by Gina Krog, interprets the woman movement in Norway; the *Hertha,* edited by Ellen Kleman, is the organ of the woman movement in Sweden; and the *Nutid* (New Era), edited by Annie Fürühjelm, is the organ of the Finnish woman movement.

It is not to be inferred that the various branches of the German woman's movement operate with insipid unanimity and thoughtless agreement. On the contrary, there are the socialist-feminists and the bourgeois-feminists; the conservative feminists, the moderate feminists, and the radical feminists; the Christian-feminists and the neutral-feminists; the "Old Feminists" and the "Young Feminists"; the suffrage-feminists and the feminist-feminists. These divisions mean an appreciable amount of pull and strain within the movement, a lively flow of internal discussion, and a multitude of mutually corrective attacks. After all, such things are only the growing pains of a healthy coalescence.

Despite all evidences of heterogeneity, the will to organize is strong in both Germany and Scandinavia—the will and the skill. During

the past twenty years, the German women have built up a great Union of Women's Clubs (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine). The Union now embraces 2,290 Associations and has a membership of half a million women. The establishment of the union grew directly out of the International Congress of Representative Women held at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Taking for their model the organization of the American Women's Clubs, the German women formed their union in 1894. At first it was simply a loose federation of women's associations, mainly philanthropic in character. To-day it is a self-conscious, self-directing organization for the furtherance of all the aims of the woman movement. It is true that the knitting processes of the intervening twenty years have proceeded very slowly and unequally. At times it looked as if disruption were imminent, but always the new sense of cohesion triumphed and the union grew. History shows that the sense of cohesion is a thing of slow growth even among the men of the human race. How much slower and more difficult must it be among women, the unsocialized sex, individuals who dwell in the superisolation of married life. "He has enslaved them well: they will not even hear of freedom; he has sep-

ırated them well: they are angry with the ıtrong ones of their own sex." [3]

The present leader of the Union is Dr. Ger-ırud Bäumer, who is also the associate editor ɔf *Die Hilfe,* a well-known social and literary weekly. Speaking before the Union on the oc-ɔasion of its twentieth anniversary, Dr. Bäumer ɜaid:

Is there, on the whole, anything unified, anything ɔommon in the multiplicity of our federation? From ıociety to society, from tendency to tendency, from ndividual to individual—what a difference of views, ɔf individual aims, of ideals of life and work, of ways ɔf looking at our movement. And yet we should not ɯish it otherwise. We rejoice that women are de-ɾeloping a decided and positive variety of views and ɜemperaments. We desire no vaguely blended unity, ɔased upon mere indistinctness of differences; we ɯish to exhibit unity, in spite of complete and con-ɔcious recognition of all that separates us. That is ɜertainly not easy. . . .

And yet we have always succeeded. Not by arti-ɪcial means, and by laboriously tacking about, but ɔecause our unity is something living and real. Wherein, then, does it consist? In the first place, in ɔur common joy in growing, in every increase of ɜapacity, of independence, of creative ability. It is he shared experience of that which our charter so

[3] *Das Rätsel Weib,* by Kaethe Schirmacher, p. 55.

dryly and technically describes as "the uplifting of the female sex," and which is a great and unique thing in the history of humanity. We feel, as we look back upon the history of our Union, that we are members, in it and with it, we have shared in this great growth. Through the consciousness of this coming forward, which every one carries within herself, and which we possess in common with our movement,—a feeling which is like the spring mood of these days,—we shall always be stronger than our opponents; for they only resist and obstruct, but we create and grow into something new, we have positive aims.

Our unity consists, however, in something else besides this growing in common. We have a common philosophy of life. In spite of the entire gamut of opinions which our union represents from left to right, we all believe in the value of responsibility. For us all, life becomes richer in that degree in which it receives its accent through work. And this work seems to us the greater and more significant the more it is intellectually controlled, thoroughly conscious of itself, built from within outward. To conquer and realize this ideal of work for women also is the ultimate meaning of our movement, from which all our separate aims are derived. And this meaning is shared by us all.

And finally, we have a common enemy. If the other holds us together inwardly, so the enemy binds us outwardly strongly together, so strongly that the

anti-feminist is always being forced to take painful recognition of the fact.[4]

IV

The first organization whose avowed purpose was the emancipation of women to be formed in Germany was the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein (General Woman's Union). This association, founded in 1865, is still the strongest subdivision of the Federation (Bund). From the beginning, it adopted a pro-woman attitude. Its history is practically the history of the German woman movement. It is, in many ways, the most representative of all the associations which have combined to form the great half-million woman party. In 1905, the same year in which moral and political militancy startled the world, the General Woman's Union issued a program which is of the utmost importance to the student of the woman movement.

This program fixes the threshold of European feminism. Its demands are the minimum demands of the twentieth century woman movement. Anything less than this program would be something less than feminism, just as anything more would be pioneerism, and

[4] *Die Frauenfrage*, April 1, 1914.

pioneerism requires no platform. Conceiving, then, that the time for organization on a grand scale had come, the makers of the program for 1905 set out to produce a document which should serve as an instrument of amalgamation for as many sex-conscious women as possible. They took over the political demands of the nineteenth century feminists but rejected their insistent emphasis on woman solely as a human being. They adopted Ellen Key's idea of total sex differentiation but rejected the matriarchal program which she built upon it. The practical demands of the declaration, however, are the groundwork of the practical feminist movement of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and are valid, on whatever basis of abstract theory, always and everywhere, until they shall have been canceled by the necessary social reforms. As we shall see in the following chapters, some of the demands of the program have been so canceled in Germany and Scandinavia during the ten years which have elapsed since its drawing up.

GOALS AND TASKS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

The Woman's Movement has chosen its goals and tasks irrespective of all political and religious parties. It works for the women of all classes and parties.

The demands of the Woman's Movement are based on the existence of thoroughgoing mental and physical differences between the sexes. It deduces from this fact that only by the coöperation of men and women can all the possibilities of cultural progress be realized.

The Woman's Movement, therefore, sets for itself this aim: To bring the cultural influence of women to its complete development and free social effectiveness.

The opportunity for the full development and effectiveness of woman's influence is *not* contained in the social and economic conditions of the present. Much more is it true that modern life has, on the one hand, limited the sphere of influence of the woman within the home, and on the other hand, thrust her into active participation in economic and social life, without providing her with the inward equipment and the outward mobility for it.

The Woman's Movement seeks, therefore, a transformation of ideas and conditions in the fields of:

1. Education.
2. Economic Life.
3. Marriage and the Family.
4. Public Life in Community and State.

EDUCATION

The Woman's Movement holds the opinion that the education of girls in its present form does not show sufficient consideration either for the develop-

ment of personality in woman or for her future domestic, vocational, and civic duties. It demands from state and community the manifestation of the same interest in the education of girls as in that of boys. It makes especially the following demands:

1. Obligatory continuation schools for girls after their dismissal from the public schools.

2. Reorganization of the secondary schools for girls, so that the latter, without hurt to their special adaptation to women's sphere, shall be made equal to the secondary schools for boys. It must be made possible for girls to prepare themselves, either within the frame-work of their own secondary schools or by admission to the boys' secondary schools, to enjoy their rights in the higher institutions of learning.

3. The unconditional admission of properly qualified and prepared women to all universities and technical schools.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Woman's Movement regards as the primary and immediate occupation of the married woman the sphere of duties involved in marriage and motherhood. The satisfactory performance of this vocation must be secured in the interest of society by all the means of education, of economic reform, and of legal protection. The work of women in the performance of this vocation shall be valued, economically and legally, as a competent cultural service.

In view of the great number of women who remain unmarried and the still greater number of those who cannot find an adequate provision in marriage, the vocational work of women is an economic and moral necessity. But the Woman's Movement also regards the vocational work of women, in a broader sense and independently of every outward necessity, as a cultural value, for women may be the possessors of a specific talent, and with the full and free development of their capacities may find, in many fields of intellectual and material activity, tasks which by reason of their nature they can perform better than men.

In respect to the economic valuation of women's vocational work, the Woman's Movement stands for the principle: Equal pay for equal work.

In consequence of this view of the economic side of the Woman question, the Woman's Movement makes the following demands:

1. It lays upon parents, and, in a deeper sense, upon society, the obligation to give every girl the opportunity to learn an occupation according to her inclination and capacity.

2. It strives to broaden the range of women's occupations, especially by the furtherance and improvement of the vocational training of girls.

3. It supports all forms of vocational organization as a primary means of elevating women's work, especially its economic valuation.

4. It works towards the continuous broadening

and the efficient execution of the laws protecting working women as well as toward the extension of state insurance in the sense of greater economic protection of the mother.

5. It seeks for women participation in the rights which are conferred upon certain classes of business (Merchants' Courts, Trade Courts, and so forth).

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

The Woman's Movement sees in the sacredness of marriage the essential guarantee of the physical and spiritual welfare of posterity and the fundamental condition of public health. With regard to sexual morality, it lays upon men and women alike the same duties and combats the double standard of morals which, on the one hand, grants to the man a sexual freedom fatal in every respect and, on the other hand, strikes the woman with unjust harshness.

It demands for the woman, as the guardian of the home and the educator of the children, that she shall bear, in harmony with the dignity of her obligation and the value of her activities, the same legal responsibility as the man in all the affairs of marriage and of family life.

From the foregoing we derive the following aims:

1. The Woman's Movement combats prostitution with all the means at its command and sees in the legal sanction of vice, expressed by the existing system of regimentation, a social and moral danger.

2. It demands a reform of the marriage laws, by

which both parents shall be assured of the same rights of decision in all personal affairs and the same responsibilities and rights in their joint affairs, especially the same share in parental authority. It demands statutory reforms concerning the rights of illegitimate children, reforms which shall lay upon the illegitimate father greater responsibilities toward mother and child.

PUBLIC LIFE, COMMUNITY AND STATE

The Woman's Movement represents the conviction that our economic, social, and intellectual progress must have as a consequence the increasing participation of women in the public life of community and state. It demands the enlistment of women in the duties and rights of communal and political citizenship. It demands this primarily for the sake of women. For, in the modern state, the economic and cultural interests of women can only be lastingly secured by the acquisition of these rights. Also the exclusion of women from national life and social responsibility, together with the inevitable narrowing of her domestic sphere of influence, must result in the retarding of her development as a personality as well as in the lowering of her social position.

The Woman's Movement makes this demand in the second place for the sake of the public welfare, because the coöperation of women is indispensable to state and community in the solution of all their modern social-political problems.

In particular, the Woman's Movement seeks the following goals, according to the possibilities given by the stage of social development:

1. Admission of women to responsible offices in community and state, primarily to such as stand in a particularly close relation to the interests of women (the education of girls, social-political administration of state and community, the problems concerning working women, courts of law, and so forth).

2. Enlistment of women in the representation of the laity in legal proceedings (justice of the peace and jury members).

3. Removal of all limitations placed on women's right to combine.

4. The extension of the church franchise to women.

5. The extension of the community franchise to women.

6. The extension of the political franchise to women.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOLS AND THE WOMAN

I

"Arma virumque cano"—"I sing of arms and the man." Thus Vergil began his chronicle of a far-away, force-ruled world. And despite the passage of centuries and the supposed advance of civilization, the modern war correspondent is still harping away on the same old theme. We must let him be; it is his department. But fortunately for the hopes of civilization, there are other departments of modern life which are essentially unfriendly to the vaunt of force. The cult of "arms and the man" must reckon with a newer cult, that of "schools and the woman." Schools, which exalt brains above brawn, and women, who exalt life-giving above life-taking, are the natural allies of the present era. Knowledge is to men the slow up-hill corrective of their hereditary faith in arms, but knowledge is to women the welcome confirmation of their hered-

itary faith in peace. And since progress without peace is impossible, it would seem self-evident progress to give knowledge to women and let the world swing on.

But the giving of knowledge to women has proceeded by such slow and reluctant installments that the process can scarcely be called "giving" in any real sense of the term. The masculine half of civilization has guarded with the same degree of jealousy its triple possessions: property, franchise, and education. The knowledge-hungry woman has been compelled to overcome the most stubborn resistance at every step. Her present footing in the schools of the world has cost her many an arduous and bitter struggle.

In Scandinavia and America, her efforts have been rewarded with their greatest successes. Women enjoy their maximum educational opportunity in these countries. But the right to learn has been long regarded in Germany as a masculine prerogative, and until recently the male students enjoyed a monopoly of all the first-class schools in the country. The school question has therefore challenged the best energies and the most brilliant leaders of the German movement. Education may be regarded as the storm-center of the middle class

woman's revolt, and conversely the woman movement must be regarded as the chief factor in the reform of the girls' school system. Until the feminist organizations began to assert themselves, the state was naïvely content with an educational system in which the girls traveled second-class while their brothers fared first-class.

The woman's invasion of European schools began at the top. The first victory was the winning of the Universities. This fact seems to be characteristic of monarchical societies, in which women may be Queens before they are allowed to vote and doctors of philosophy before they are allowed to have the same common-school education as boys. The aristocracy of birth or intellect is the only thing strong enough to help them overcome their sex-limitations.

Among the Germanic peoples, there has always existed the tradition of a small, exceptional group of women dedicated to the intellectual life, either in the form of medieval learning or ancient mysticism. The earliest representatives of this class were the priestesses of the Teutonic tribes. They were succeeded by the learned nuns of the Middle Ages. The next incarnation of the type was the nineteenth

century bluestocking, who eventually presented herself at the university and declared her wish to be made a doctor of philosophy. The opposition she encountered was tempered by the consideration that the bluestocking was a *tour de force* of nature and didn't matter very much to women as they go. If she wanted thus to unsex herself she was supported, after all, by some tradition in favor of a small class of celibate, intellectual females. And so the universities gave way, graciously extending their privileges,—including that of being allowed to pay exactly the same university fees as the men,—to all women who had, by means of a very expensive private instruction, managed to prepare themselves for university study. The result was the twentieth century doctor of philosophy who is neither a nun nor a bluestocking, but that most pestiferous and alarming of modern dangers, a woman who wishes to earn her own living.

II

At present, the Scandinavian and German Universities are practically all open to women. In 1873, women were given permission to take the entrance examinations for the Swedish Universities. In 1883, the first doctorate was con-

ferred upon a woman graduate. In 1884, the first woman profesesor, Sonja Kovalevsky, was called to Stockholm. In 1914, the Swedish Academy elected its first woman member, Selma Lagerlöf. The Norwegian Universities have admitted women on the same terms as men since 1884.

The first women students of Germany were compelled to cross the border for their scientific training. The Swiss Universities had begun to admit women even before the Swedish, and as the Swiss institutions were mainly German-speaking, they offered the young woman from beyond the Rhine a substitute that was "just as good" as the native variety. In 1889, a school was established in Berlin for the purpose of preparing young women for the Swiss universities. At last, stimulated doubtless by the example of its Swiss neighbors, the University of Heidelberg began to admit women as so-called "Hörerinnen" (guests) in 1891. In 1901, the universities of Baden, Heidelberg, and Freiburg gave women all the rights of full matriculation, and in 1903 the technical schools of Baden admitted them. In 1903, the universities of Bavaria were opened; in 1904, the University of Würtemberg; in 1905, the technical schools of Bavaria; in 1906, Saxony

(the kingdom); in 1907, Saxony (the grand-duchy); in 1908, Prussia, Reichsland, and Hessen; and in 1909, Mecklenburg.

Even after the beginning had been made by Heidelberg and Freiburg, it took almost a decade for all the other German universities to fall into line. It will be remembered that Germany is a congeries of states, and reforms must spread from state to state, just as in the united American commonwealth. The obstructionists who succumb to-day in one quarter may reappear to-morrow in another, and so on until the list of possibilities is exhausted. The position of the Baden universities at the gateway of the new century is that of honorable and self-respecting leadership. The position of Prussia and its subsidiary states is rather slinking by comparison. One can hardly see how the proudest of the German states would consent to play such a reluctant and ineffectual part in the history of educational progress.

Registered in the German universities in the summer semester of 1914 were 4,117 women students. There are no special universities for women, and there are no universities which may legally refuse to accept properly qualified women students. In this respect, at least, they represent a more liberal policy than the

exclusively male universities of the Eastern States of America.

III

For the real scene of reaction in Germany, we must look at the secondary schools for girls. The opening of the Universities brought into sudden and high relief the conditions of the knowledge-famine below. All the famous secondary schools of Germany, which prepared for the universities, existed for the use of boys only. An anomalous condition arose, by which the universities welcomed the women and the preparatory schools refused the girls. The work of the feminist movement was cut out. The task was twofold,—to give young girls the opportunity to prepare for university study and to give the far more numerous daughters of middle-class families who leave school for good at sixteen or eighteen some real education instead of the æsthetic pabulum of the Höhere Töchterschule. Again it was Prussia who primarily championed the cause of unlessoned girlhood and threw down the gauntlet to the feminist demands.

There are three kinds of high schools which prepare young men for university study and the technical institutes,—the Gymnasium, the

Real-Gymnasium, and the Ober-Realschule. The first step taken by the woman movement was to establish and maintain with private funds duplicate high schools for girls. By means of these girls' high schools, known as Studien-Anstalten, girls were given an equal right with boys to the study of Latin. A storm of opposition arose, in which two objections obtained great familiarity. In the first place, girls couldn't learn Latin. There are German schoolmasters still living to whom nothing in life is half so comical as a young girl declining a Latin noun. It has happened, within the last few years, that whole conventions of them have been thrown into uproarious merriment at the mere idea. Gentlemen of this type must, of course, be taken seriously by the feminist leaders, for many of them are in positions of influence. I do not know how they explain the development of the Latin language into a secondary masculine sex characteristic since the days when it was the mother tongue of Cornelia and Virginia, whose character as womanly women cannot be questioned.

The second objection was a much more serious one. It amounts to this: The European gymnasium is a musty old relic of scholasticism anyhow, and, if women are by way of establish-

ing a whole new series of high schools for girls, there is no need of duplicating all the faults of the institutions already existing. The prevailing educational system of Germany is one-sided and ill-balanced, say the critics, and its tendency is towards over-intellectualization. Therefore they reproach the new woman bitterly for her failure to seize the opportunity of creating a better and more human type of adolescent education. The feminists urge, in reply, that the current criticism of the masculine standards is irrelevant to their purpose. "We cannot spring over a whole stage of development, land on the other side, and take up the leadership. The history of ideas shows that such is not the course of evolution in human progress," they say very frankly. "We are by no means in a position to make experiments ourselves; and to allow others to make them upon us, that is the last thing we should do." [1]

In 1914, there were in Prussia 540 high schools preparing boys for the university and 43 schools of corresponding grade for girls. These numbers speak for themselves. The slow development of high schools for girls is partly due to the fact that the Prussian government deliberately hung a millstone around their

[1] Paula Schlodtmann at the Kassel Congress in 1907.

necks by the same order which sanctioned them. The bill which permitted the Studien-Anstalt also established the so-called Frauenschule, or Woman's School. It stipulated, furthermore, that the university-preparatory schools should only be established in towns where a Woman's School already existed. The latter proposed to give a two years' course in the home-making arts to young women who did not intend to study or to earn their living.

The faults of the Woman's School, as pointed out by feminist critics, were fundamental. It is not possible to divide sixteen-year-old girls into those who will marry and those who will not. In so far as it is necessary to train girls for their future duties as housewives and mothers, it is necessary to train *all* girls and not a segregated class. The modern woman movement cannot approve of a system of education which postulates a celibate class of women any more than it can approve of the state regulation of prostitution. On the other hand, the surest method for the development of character, which is said by the government to be a main purpose of the Woman's School, is training for an occupation.[2] Lacking this purpose, the school can only cul-

[2] Lydia Stöcker at the Kassel Congress of 1907.

tivate dilettanteism and superficiality. All these objections on the part of the feminists have been vindicated by the character of the Woman's Schools founded.

In 1909, the Prussian government executed a second anti-feminist coup by appointing for women a special path to the universities. It had always been posited by the German feminists that "women should be admitted to university study only under the same conditions as men, as every exceptional ruling for women would inevitably impose upon their study the stamp of inferiority." [3] Nevertheless, a special ruling was issued by the educational ministry in providing that the young women graduates of the Ober-Lyzeum, or teacher's seminary, should be admitted *ipso facto* to the universities. They are permitted to study in special departments only and receive a special degree. For twenty years the woman movement had struggled to obtain for girls the same type of preparatory schools as the three existing types for boys. The establishment of the "Fourth Way" (Der Vierte Weg) is an instance of the sham liberality with which a bureaucratic government accomplishes reaction. The Prussian ruling can best be explained by

[3] Paula Schlodtmann at Kassel Congress, 1907.

reference to an American parallel. The Board of Education of New York City refused as long as possible to grant maternity leave to married teachers, and when at last compelled by public opinion to give up this negative dictatorship, tried to enforce a compulsory leave of absence of two years. It is hard to explain either the Prussian or New York City ruling as anything but a retaliatory measure.

IV

The simplest solution of the preparatory school problem would, of course, have been the same as the solution of the university problem: to admit girls to the existing boys' schools. The gymnasial schools of Baden admitted girls as early as 1900, as the only consistent thing to do if the universities were going to admit women. Württemberg, Alsace-Lorraine, Saxony, and the lesser German states also have coeducational high schools. But the dual alliance against coeducation, Prussia and Bavaria, still refuse to yield on principle.

In Scandinavia, coeducation is a well-established fact. The Norwegian mixed school has gradually taken the place of the segregated school, so that the children of Norway are being educated together from seven years onward.

The Swedish public schools are coeducational, but the daughters of upper-class families usually attend a special type of girls' school corresponding to the Prussian girls' schools. The Swedish girls' schools, however, long ago accepted their logical task of preparing for the university, and in this respect they do not at all resemble the Prussian girls' schools which have served the bureaucratic government as instruments of obstruction against the higher education of women. Sweden also has coeducational high schools, the Palmgren school in Stockholm having gone ahead with this precedent as early as 1876. In Finland, 1883, coeducation was introduced as a result of the woman movement. Denmark established coeducation officially in 1903, and the ministerial order based the new departure definitely on principle. The order further specified that the pupils, as far as possible, should be treated alike as children and not as boys and girls.

Supported by all these precedents, as well as by the example of the American public schools, the Union of German Women's Clubs demanded in their 1912 convention that, wherever the educational opportunity for girls was not equal to that for boys, the girls should attend the existing schools for boys. This de-

mand is still regarded by the Prussian government and the Prussian schoolmen as extremely revolutionary. Prussia already educates two-thirds of her common-school pupils in mixed schools, but the same condition is regarded as very dangerous for the more advanced schools and the more lettered classes. The inconsistency of attitude should not be incomprehensible to American observers. Does not Harvard University find coeducation highly desirable in summer and highly undesirable in winter? Does not Yale University find coeducation desirable for graduate students but undesirable for undergraduates? Does not Columbia University find coeducation desirable in the philosophy department but undesirable in the law department? Indeed, if the people who believe in segregation could agree on some one good consistent reason for it, it would improve their case immensely.

In the meantime, the practice of segregation has been so long established in the bourgeois schools of Prussia that it has little need to justify itself by reason or logic. It is imbedded in the very matrix of the educational system. The höhere Töchterschule (higher daughters' school) may confidently hope to stand for many decades, by sheer weight of custom if for no

other reason. The feminists have therefore decided that it would be impossible to merge the girls' school into the boys' and have bent their energies towards raising the standard of education for girls. After twenty years of hard labor, they have achieved comparative success in the form of the modern Lyceum, which has at last replaced the old-fashioned Töchterschule. The dearly bought Lyceum is only one instance of the high cost of even the moderate reforms accomplished by the woman movement.

V

The original evil genius of the segregated girls' schools was the celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose influence on the development of pedagogical ideas was greater in Germany than anywhere else. The picture which he drew of the ideal "Sophie" stung Mary Wollstonecraft into an act of almost superhuman courage, the writing of the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* Sophie was seriously offered by her creator as the result of his mature reflections on the education of women. Mary Wollstonecraft correctly describes her as the result of Rousseau's lascivious imaginings. But Mary Wollstonecraft was a voice crying

in the wilderness and Jean Jacques's opinions on the education of girls only helped to reënforce the current opinion of the scholastic world. Sophie served as the figure-head of the nineteenth century girls' schools, created by men and by men alone. We need not go into a full description of Sophie's qualities. Her picture had at least one virtue, that of consistency, and a sample quality or two will be sufficient to indicate all the rest of her abject make-up.

Whether I consider the peculiar destination of the sex, observe their inclinations, or remark their duties, all things equally concur to point out the peculiar method of education best adapted to them. Woman and man were made for each other, but their mutual dependence is not the same. The men depend on the women only on account of their desires; the women on the men both on account of their desires and their necessities. We could subsist better without them than they without us. . . . Opinion is the grave of virtue among men, but its throne among women. . . . On women also depend our manners, our passions, our tastes, our pleasures, and even our happiness itself. For this reason, the education of the women should always be relative to the men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, and to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console

us, to render our lives easy and agreeable—these are the duties of women at all times and what they should be taught in their infancy. So long as we fail to recur to this principle, we run wide of the mark, and all the precepts which are given them contribute neither to their happiness nor our own.

Thus the Citizen of Geneva in 1762. A hundred years later the Weimar conference of German schoolmasters was still ringing the ancient chimes. "It is our object," they solemnly recorded, "to make possible for the woman an education which in breadth of method and interests is equal to the intellectual development of the man, in order that the German man may not find his domestic life rendered tedious by the intellectual shortsightedness and narrow-mindedness of his wife and his inclination toward the higher interests hampered by her; that his wife shall rather stand at his side with an understanding of these interests and a warmth of feeling for them." [4]

And yet again, in 1907, Herr Studt, minister of education, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, declared that the new education bill was planned to give young women an opportunity "of broadening and deepening their culture, so that they might be sympathetic com-

[4] *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*, Vol. III, p. 111.

panions of cultivated men and intelligent educators of their children."

In prescribing courses of study for girls, the schoolmasters went on the assumption that certain studies cultivate the essentially feminine qualities and others the essentially masculine qualities. They skimped the girls on mathematics, history, and natural sciences. Nothing was taught with scientific thoroughness. The whole emphasis of the school was laid on pretty manners, on manageability, and on docility. Helene Lange describes the pliant product of these schools as "a creature who never quite grows out of childhood, who never loses the charm of the unfinished, from whom skepticism and, consequently, real knowledge, are far removed." [5]

The first serious criticism of the girls' schools was made by the woman movement. Little could be said in their defense, because the pseudo-education of girls had come to be a recognized evil,—the "höhere Tochter" was a common joke on the vaudeville stage and a national disgrace to the German ideal of thoroughness. Everybody admitted that something must be done. The feminists said quite plainly that the necessary something was to

[5] Helene Lange at the Kassel Congress.

carry over bodily into the girls' schools the courses of study prescribed for the boys' schools (the Real-Schulen). At once, the old cry was heard against the materialism of the Realschule, and so forth. The feminists could only reply that the materialism of the boys' schools could not possibly be worse than the emotionalism and the æstheticism of the girls' schools. Once combined and equalized, the schools could work out better forms for both. At present the girls' schools ought to have the same aims as the boys' schools, including the preparation for an occupation. Whether the girl goes to work or not, she should not be a stranger to the economic world in which she lives.

VI

Until a comparatively recent date, the teaching profession has been the prerogative of the male sex in Germany. The principle of segregation did not mean that girls could not be taught by men; it only meant that they could not be taught in the company of boys. The rise of a woman-teacher class has therefore interfered with the economic preserves of the German schoolmaster. This antagonism formulated itself and resulted in a so-called wom-

an-teacher problem (Lehrerinnen-Frage). The influx of the women into the elementary schools and the lower-paid positions was tolerated, or at least only silently opposed. But when it became apparent that women were qualifying themselves by university study to become teachers in the girls' higher schools, the male teachers formally organized against them. The same government order which refused coeducation in the high schools stipulated that at least one-third of the teachers in the girls' high schools should be men. It did not stipulate, however, that the principal should be a man, so that it is now legally possible for a woman to be the principal of a girls' school in Germany. Practically, it is not possible as yet, because the men teachers have combined to boycott women as directors. Twenty thousand Prussian schoolmasters signed a public protest, of which the keynote was, "It cannot be expected of a man of character that he should work under a woman."

The outspoken sex-egoism of such a declaration scarcely needs comment. The high-handed disregard of women's interests, both as pupils and as professional women, is, from the point of view of the woman movement, the most favorable form that opposition can take.

Tyranny as naïve as this outrages even the most elementary sense of justice, and, after all, an elementary sense of justice is all that can be expected of a sex which is just emerging from subjection. The anti-feminist schoolman has done a great deal to weld together the diverse forces of the woman movement and create support among intelligent men for the feminist case.

The position of the woman teacher, demanding her place in the leadership of the girls' schools, has been clearly and finally stated by Dr. Bäumer. So long as one system of schools for girls and another for boys is the rule, women must be allowed to control the girls' schools just as men have been allowed and still are to control the boys' schools. This demand is not necessarily based on the belief that women can understand the psychology of the growing girl better than the man, but on the historical fact that the schools of the past which men alone have provided for the education of girls have proved to be an "Unding," a nothing. It is an undeniable fact that all the recent reforms in the girls' schools have been brought about by the woman movement. It is also undeniable that these reforms were brought about only by the most laborious and

difficult methods. It was necessary for the women, first of all, to win public opinion in order that public opinion might eventually influence the schoolmasters to make the improvements needed. The women must therefore have representation in the higher teaching profession and occupy positions of influence as the heads of schools. The snarl of competition has no terrors for the present generation of path-finding women, and the less independent spirits who follow after are being driven by economic pressure to go almost as far as if they, too, followed the vision.

VII

Under the compulsory education law of Germany, the daughters of the poor, like their brothers, go to school until the age of fourteen. Moreover, coeducation is the rule in the elementary schools of Germany as well as of Scandinavia. In the lowest stratum of German society, where education is reduced to its legal minimum, we have for the first time something like equality of opportunity between the sexes.

Yet, even here, the domestic conscription of the girl begins. For instance, in the small number of segregated schools (about one-tenth

of the children are in such schools) there is a tendency to reduce the arithmetic lesson and substitute needlework for the girls. This is a gratuitous deprivation. All the arithmetic the workingwoman can learn in her brief school years will not be too much to help her keep the meager budget of the workingman's family. The second form of domestic conscription to which the girl is subjected is absence from school. She has duties at home which her brother has not, and the school gives her back to the home as far as the law allows. The comparative absences of boys and girls in the schools attended by poor children show this. In the year 1898-1899, a study of attendance in the public schools of Austria showed that the girls had 2,559,990 half days of absence and the boys 1,992,756 half days.[6] Thus early in her life, the workingwoman begins the double duty of domestic and extra-domestic work which always serves to keep down her wages in the extra-domestic field.

What is the situation in the supplementary, or continuation, schools? These semi-schools were devised to carry on the education of fourteen- to eighteen-year-old workers. They are

[6] *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*, Vol. III, p. 170. Reported by Auguste Fickert.

occupational in character, require four to six hours' attendance a week, and the employer is required to release the young worker to the school for that length of time. Many cities have made continuation schools compulsory for boys, while the corresponding facilities for girls were only struggling into existence through private and coöperative support. The demand for compulsory continuation schools for girls was made a vital part of the program of the woman movement. Recently some progress has been made in this direction, accompanied, however, by the usual reaction which attends woman at every step of the way toward economic independence.

Berlin introduced compulsory continuation schools for all girls between seventeen and eighteen in trade and mercantile employment in 1913. The order requires that, of her regular six hours, one and a half shall be devoted to the study of domestic science. In other cities it has happened through the influence of the Men's Mercantile Union that the continuation classes for young women shop assistants were entirely converted into housekeeping classes. It is plainly unfair that the continuation school should give to the young man a training that increases his value to his employer and to the

young woman a training in which her immediate employer has not the slightest interest. The result is that the young saleswoman and office-worker is placed at a great disadvantage as compared with her male colleague. The contrivers of reaction in this field are the members of an avowed anti-feminist organization known as the Business Assistants' Union (Deutscher Handlungsgehilfen Verein), which vies with the Schoolmasters' organizations in the invention of ways to prevent young women from earning their living. For, as I said before, the young woman who wants to earn her living represents an active social danger. She forecasts the twilight of many ancient gods. Beyond her lies a day when even the services of the wife do not belong to the husband but to herself.

Next to the Mutterschutz propaganda, the educational field has been for many years the most important work of the German woman's movement. It has rightly been estimated as the basic problem of feminism. Speaking at the Kassel Congress, Marie Martin said, "So long as woman was to be only 'the sympathetic companion of the cultivated man,' just so long did she live, platonically and also un-platonically honored and praised, in seemingly comfortable and protected peace. That she threatened at

the same time to sink into a sad lack of comprehension for the serious interests of the man and the great tasks of the present time, that she fell into unemployment and miserable dependency on another's will—that was not for a long time admitted. And behind this fact lies much woman's misery and girl's distress, which come to light in isolated symptoms: in the home-work question, the woman-teacher question, the Mutterschutz question, and, darkest and most baneful of all, the prostitution question. All this wretchedness is inseparably connected with the question of woman's education. Here, therefore, is where we women begin."

CHAPTER III

SOME REALIZATIONS IN DRESS REFORM

I

The task of feminism is to capture and, if necessary, to remold for woman's use the ordinary symbols of society. The struggle centers with varying degrees of intensity around three of the most familiar symbols of life—dress, money, and the vote. Of these three, "votes for women" has had the widest appeal, perhaps because the franchise is viewed by women themselves in the light of an acquisition and not of a readjustment. The struggle for money, the "dollars for women" movement, has met with a more considered enthusiasm, for here the necessity of readjustment in women's familiar habits and forms of life is a retarding motive. New arrangements regarding money threaten to alter the foundations of daily living and to introduce change into woman's immediate environment, the sphere where ancient precedent is most cherished—the home. Last and least of the three symbols, if we may judge

from its distinctly minor position in the whole feminist propaganda, is the most intimate and universal of all, dress.

To reconstruct woman's dress for woman's use requires a crusade against the rule of a fashion which lays upon her all the outward marks of an inferior sex. Her external appearance is the most concrete, and the least assailable, symbol of her subjection. Yet the woman movement has been notably slow to act against the complex forces of fashion. Suffrage congresses and suffrage demonstrations furnish striking evidence of the small gains achieved in this direction even by the most advanced of their sex. The feeling is nevertheless increasing that the neglected sphere of woman's dress is the Achilles heel of feminism, and that dress reform is an indispensable condition of woman's emancipation.

At present, the only vigorous dress reform movement in existence is that of the German women and its related branches in Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia. This movement is well past the sporadic and experimental stage and well advanced in the stage of practical realization. It has twenty years of positive history and an ever-widening clientèle among practical-minded women. Its success is due

to the organization of women who have asserted their actual needs and held the balance between hygienic ugliness and æsthetic inconvenience.

The same practical and well-balanced policy has characterized its leadership; for the sponsors of the reform dress have chosen to limit their demands to the smallest number of indispensable changes and thus to widen their appeal to the largest possible number of women. Between the point of view of Frau Margarete Pochhammer, who founded the reform movement in Berlin in 1896, and the beautiful and rebellious Louise Aston, who shocked the Berlin of the forties by wearing trousers in public, yawns an enormous gulf. The twentieth century German woman has adopted a "revisionist" rather than a "rebel" line of action, and this fact together with her talent for organization has enabled her to accomplish a great deal for the physical comfort of her sex.

It was Frau Pochhammer's idea that the new organization should confine its efforts to winning an influence on the fashions. This object was achieved in a surprisingly short space of years, though the victory which has so far been gained has its equivocal features. Just as Bismarck, the arch-enemy of socialism, borrowed socialist ideas for his reforms, Poiret also

borrowed the ideas of the dress reformers for his own supreme "creations." For the last ten years, the fashion encyclicals from Paris have drawn liberally upon the inventions of the German dress reformers. By this route, the loose-fitting, one-piece dress has become an international staple.

In her interesting book on the dress reform movement of Germany, Else Wirminghaus speaks of this unexpected turning of the tables and utters a word of warning: "However much we may rejoice in the success by which the transition to the modern garment is made easier for numberless women, we must not be deceived by it or allow ourselves to reduce the amount of our organized efforts. Fashion has not turned to the modern dress-system out of inward principle or fundamental needs, but it has merely taken over, for lack of original ideas, some superficial ear-marks. Just as swiftly as it came, this apparently rational tendency can vanish again. In ever growing numbers, then, women should refuse to wear tightly-laced clothing again, after they have once had the opportunity of a more comfortable garment. Whether the new dress-system will develop henceforth in harmony with, or in opposition to, the prevailing modes will de-

pend entirely on the future course of the latter." [1]

II

The present dress reform movement inherits its direction from two essential sources, the hygienic and the æsthetic. Pioneers on the hygienic side were, of course, the doctors and the object of their especial attack was the corset. In the middle ages the corset was devised for the use of nuns as a means of concealing the feminine sex characteristics. But in time it came to be used for just the opposite purpose, to exaggerate instead of to conceal the lines of the female body. In both cases, whether as an instrument to mortify the flesh or to invite it, it was equally unhygienic. A succession of more or less famous doctors fulminated against its obvious damage to women's health for several generations before the reform movement was born, and since the organization came into existence, doctors have always been active in its councils. Some of the new dress-makers have even adopted the slender steel measuring tape of the doctor's kit, which seems a happy omen of a future time when the dress-maker's

[1] Else Wirminghaus: *De Frau und die Kultur des Körpers*, p. 66.

wares may have some relation to the normal female body and its muscular expression.

From the earliest times, there have been German artists who have taken a serious interest in the subject of woman's dress. Dürer made designs of a house dress, a church dress, and a ball dress for the Nuremberg woman of 1500. Holbein also influenced the styles of his day by producing a series of costume studies which may still be seen in the Basel Museum. Many modern artists have been enlisted in the reform dress movement, the work of Anna Muthesius of Dresden being particularly famous. Without their help, the new raiment would have made slower progress, for the mere woman naturally looked with suspicion upon a campaign for health's sake and for that alone. It was necessary for some one to represent the claims of beauty.

The strongest of all artistic influences, however, came from the national revival of arts and crafts, the inimitable "Kunstgewerbe" of Germany. Everywhere in that country the evidences of an era of good taste in house furnishing and decoration are apparent. The housewife moves in a domestic setting in which art has had its say. Her kitchen ware of enamel and china, the books on her shelves, her linen

and carpets and furniture all bear the marks of the new industrial art. Imitation materials, artificial effects, and senseless patterns have been largely supplanted by reality, simplicity, and utility in structure and design.

The last of the common every-day objects to respond to the influence of the new national taste was woman's dress. The orthodox dress-maker still violates every principle of industrial art, but a wholly new kind of dress-maker has come forward to present the claims of a wholly new kind of dress-making. Her aim is simply to carry over from the furnishings of the home to the dress of its mistress an idea of beauty already popular.

An incidental development of the organized dress revolt was the occupational opportunity it offered to women. Its success is largely due to the talented and enterprising character of the women who saw this opportunity and took it. One of the earliest adventurers into the untried field was Emmy Schoch, who was inspired by Margarete Pochhammer to adopt as her career the introduction of the reform dress. As a lecturer and as a crafts woman, Frau Schoch's services to the movement have been invaluable. The same is true of the brilliant Hedwig Buschmann, who, in her threefold rôle

of lecturer, designer, and manufacturer, is one of the most effective pioneers of the new dress revolt. Lisbeth Maas, Marie Pose, and Elisabeth Viertel are only a few of a long list of women who have helped by their skill and talent to make the reform dress a familiar and accessible fact.

III

The main strength of the propaganda has been the work of the "Deutscher Verband für Neue Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur" (German Union for the New Clothing for Women and Women's Culture). The union has branches in the following cities: Aachen, Berlin, Bonn, Bremen, Breslau, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Eberbach, Elberfeld-Barmen, Essen, Flensburg, Freiburg, Görlitz, Halle, Hamburg, Hannover, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Cologne, Leipzig, Munich, Pforzheim, Stuttgart, Vienna, Wertheim, and Witten. The association holds a general congress once every two years and maintains a journal, edited by Clara Sander and Else Wirminghaus.

The local societies carry on a variety of activities. Information is given out, books are loaned, exhibitions of reform garments are held, lectures are exchanged, gymnastic exer-

cises are cultivated, and often cutting and fitting by the new method are taught. The attempt to extend their influence in the community has sometimes brought a local society in conflict with business and industrial interests. The corset-makers, naturally, objected to the anti-corset propaganda, and when the women went so far as to hold public meetings in the school buildings and city halls the corset industry was decidedly aggrieved. Representatives of the trade sent formal protests to the city departments which in any way seemed to encourage the reform dress movement. This occurrence is typical of the attitude of the fashion-mongers and corset-purveyors, who assume that women should blindly submit to disfiguration in order that the business of disfiguration may prosper.

In the meantime, it has been one of the chief aims of the society to enlighten the domestic woman especially concerning her economic responsibility as a consumer. The executive committee published at the beginning of the year 1913 in all the women's journals a clothes manifesto. "To the women of Germany!" it ran. "We are living in a troubled period, a time of rising prices and congested occupations. Though hundreds of thousands are un-

certain of their daily bread, the tendency to luxury increases, especially in women's dress. We are trying to combat the high cost of living and bad housing conditions by legal measures and coöperative associations, although as yet we have made scarcely more than a beginning. In the clothing problem, however, neither laws nor coöperation can help. The main responsibility rests with the woman as the chief agent of consumption, and she must show that she understands how to balance the expenditures for housing, food, and clothing. But the fashion industry of to-day does its utmost by exaggerated demands to force the cost of women's dress up to a level out of all proportion to the other expenses of the budget. And the worst of the situation is this: The fashion industry, with its allies of the press, its cleverly planned exhibits and seductive fashion plates, speculates upon the intellectual immaturity of women and exploits their lack of understanding of the requirements of sound economics." [2]

IV

In the earliest stages of their movement the dress reformers realized that their task was not

[2] *Neue Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur*, January, 1913.

merely the negative one of combating the excesses of style and the evils of corset-worship. The positive side of their endeavors shaped itself partly as a program of physical culture. The effort to create a rational dress for women necessarily implied the restoration of the normal female body. Blunted in its activities and deformed in its proportions, the figure of the nineteenth century woman furnished very defective standards for the new ideals of the female exterior. She was thoroughly blighted in torso and limb. High heels, tight waists, long skirts—now narrow and now voluminous—high collars, binding sleeves, and all the rest of the refined torments inflicted in the name of fashion had done their worst. So far advanced was the process of degeneration that it was impossible for many women, especially those of middle age, to give up the use of corsets. The muscles of the abdomen and the back refused to do their proper work, and the body which had grown accustomed to a steel-and-whale-bone cast could not keep itself erect without an artificial support. The further the dress reform movement went in the production of a rational attire, the more revelations it called forth of the sorry physical estate of the modern woman.

It was therefore not a diversion but an intensifying of its energies when the Dress Unions began to cultivate an interest in physical culture and gymnastics among its members. They have helped materially to create the German atmosphere which seems peculiarly favorable to æsthetic gymnastics. Realizing that the physical salvation of women depends upon a healthy revival of bodily exercise, they became the strong allies of every German effort in this direction. And not content to stop with native resources, they borrowed stimulus and example from other countries. Among the German women students, ski-running in winter and mountain climbing in summer are the most popular sports. In addition to these, the various societies of the reform movement befriended English tennis and Swedish gymnastics. They also helped to popularize the art of the American Isadora Duncan and the Swiss Jaques Dalcroze.

The system of gymnastics most favored is the Swedish. This consists of a set of muscular exercises, performed without apparatus and designed to develop all parts of the body to an equal degree. Not only these specific exercises but the whole character and temper of the modern gymnastics revival in Sweden have sup-

plied the German movement with a scientific and dignified background.

Next to the Swedish gymnastics, the system most used is the Mensendieck system. Frau Mensendieck is an American woman, like Isadora Duncan, who has found her field of action in a foreign country. Her book on the "Körperkultur des Weibes" (Physical Culture of Woman) is the favorite handbook of exercises among the educated classes of German women. Teachers of the "Mensendieck System" are greatly in demand by women's clubs and special classes.

The culmination of this whole gymnastic movement was the revival of the dance, primarily in the forms of Isadora Duncan's Greek dances and the rhythmical gymnastics of Dalcroze. The Duncan school at Darmstadt and the Dalcroze school at Hellerau are evidences of the deep roots struck by these two extraordinary artists in German soil. The dress reform movement has derived its own peculiar benefits from their success. The encouraging example of Isadora Duncan, who defied the reigning ballet and won distinction with her classic dances, has not been without its effect on the new group of dress-artists who have risen up to defy the fashions. When Hedwig

Buschmann exhibited her first costumes in the Artists' House at Berlin, a newspaper critic called attention to the fact that Isadora Duncan had made her début on the same stage, and suggested that the neo-Greek dress might play as great a part in the history of the dressmaker's art as Duncan's appearance has played in the history of the dance. Certainly, the new conception of feminine beauty which is being created by the Hellerau dancers can only help to reveal the absurdities and falsities of the Longchamps modes.

V

It must not be inferred from what has now been said about the earnest temper of the new dress movement that a stereotyped raiment is in prospect. This is by no means the case. There is no attempt to place all women in a uniform. On the contrary, the new dress program leaves plenty of room for the play of individual taste and even accepts the necessity for changing fashions. The human desire for variety will have to be satisfied, but the terrific tempo of the changing styles will certainly have to be abated. It results in an enormous waste of time, material, and energy, and the loss inevitably affects both the industry and

the consumer. But outside of the German dress reform movement, scarcely a voice is raised in protest against these conditions. While the housewife is constantly warned against waste in food materials, there is an all engrossing silence concerning the universal bad economy in clothing materials. As an example of sheer, conscienceless waste, the wardrobe of the "society lady" who relegates a dress after wearing it but once or twice can hardly be surpassed. She is, of course, an extreme instance, but there are few women who do not discard their dresses according to the number of times they have been worn, and not at all according to their condition.

The designers of the new "Frauentracht" are producing a great variety of experimental garments, but there are certain qualities which are agreed upon as indispensable in a rational dress. To begin with, the dress must allow the utmost breathing space and limb action. The new dress-maker measures her customer with inflated lungs and fixes the waist line around the ribs and not around the soft and yielding parts of the trunk. The one-piece dress hung from the shoulders is the most usual type, but the suspension of certain kinds of garments from the hips is recognized as having its ad-

vantages. So far as possible, petticoats are eliminated, and the "Reform-Hose" (full trousers very m ·ch like "bloomers") is substituted.

Frau Wirminghaus, one of the editors of the dress reform magazine, has drawn up a schedule of dress for children, girls, and women, which shows how very simple the whole problem of dress becomes when reason is applied to it. Let me note also, that all the articles mentioned in the schedule, underwear and overwear, are easily attainable in Germany in ready-made or partly ready-made form. There is a shop in Karlsruhe which deals in reform underwear alone. And any woman can write to the nearest information bureau of the dress reform organization for advice or addresses and obtain the new woman's wear by parcel post.

For children up to about 10 years:

a. Union suit. Under-body. Reform-drawers buttoned to under-body. Dress in frock-style. Socks.

b. Shirt. Under-body. White drawers, buttoned to under-body or buttoned inside of reform-drawers. Reform-drawers, buttoned to under-body. Dress in frock-style. Socks.

For girls:

a. Union-suit of light material. Hip stocking-supporter. Reform-drawers supported by hips, preferably with narrow border and of jersey-material. Dress with washable under-waist.

b. Union-suit of light material. Under-body. Hip stocking-supporter. Reform-drawers supported by hips with narrow border (or buttoned to under-body with wide border). Dress.

For women:

a. (Simplest clothing.) Union-suit of light material. Hip stocking-supporter. Reform-drawers supported by hips, preferably with narrow border and of jersey-material. Dress with washable under-waist.

b. Union-suit of light material. Hip stocking-supporter. Under-body. Reform-drawers supported by hips (or buttoned to under-body, with wide border). Dress.

c. Union-suit of light material. Abdominal belt with stocking-supporter. Reform-drawers supported by hips (or buttoned to under-body). Dress with washable under-waist.

d. Union-suit of light material. Under-body. Abdominal belt with stocking-supporter. Reform-drawers supported by hips (or buttoned to under-body). Dress.

VI

One distinguishing mark of the modern dress which especially deserves to be mentioned is the kind of fastening used. The conventional dress-maker is bound beyond all else to conceal the closing of the dress; this is accomplished by means of an intricate system of invisible hooks and eyes and usually by opening the dress in the back. The result is that the wearer is not able to fasten and unfasten her own clothes and must depend on somebody else to help her in dressing and undressing. It is a farcical custom and has been advertised *ad nauseam* by the jokes in the comic papers. These jokes always feature the sufferings of the innocent husband or the impropriety of the situation in which the casual stranger is appealed to to perform this intimate service. The real impropriety of the situation is something quite different. That an independent, self-supporting woman, for instance, should ever succumb to the kind of garb which she cannot put on without help is the real wonder. The only explanation is that the difficulties of opposing the ordained custom were too great, and it is a significant fact that the first reform dress-maker who had sufficient acumen to ad-

vertise that she *guaranteed a garment which could be put on without help* found a mass of customers ready to take advantage of her offer.

All this emphasis on the practical side of the garment question does not mean, however, that the claims of gracefulness and beauty are overlooked. It is a fundamental principle of decorative art that an object which entirely fails to serve its purpose is not really beautiful. A hand-painted shovel or a carved marble Bible is not beautiful; neither is a dress in which a woman cannot walk or breathe. The extension of this law of decoration to woman's dress simply means that as it becomes more satisfactory from the practical standpoint it will also become more satisfactory from the æsthetic standpoint.

One of the most interesting of the modern dress forms is that devised by Hedwig Buschmann in Berlin. Her plan for these garments grew out of the lectures of Doctor Jolles, an archeologist who is an authority on Greek and Medieval costumes. Doctor Jolles emphasizes the superiorities of the Greek clothing art, especially in its regard for the quality and beauty of the material. His ideas fired Frau Buschmann with a resolution to reproduce these garments, as far as possible, for the women of to-

day. She set to work in her shop and in a very short time had discovered the changes which were necessary to convert the Hellenic garment into one which should meet the requirements of a Northern climate and modern habits of life. Her first presentation of these garments before a Berlin audience took place under scientific auspices, for it was prefaced by a lecture by Dr. Jolles giving the historical development of the primitive clothing forms upon which the new garment was based.

The simplicity of the new wear is extreme. Frau Buschmann takes a piece of goods of a rectangular or circular shape, cuts a square or round hole for the neck, drapes it with a girdle and lo! the costume is finished. The idea of reviving the antique costume and the beautiful garments from the Buschmann workshop, as they were exhibited in a series of German cities, found favor in a very short time. The proof of the venture was its commercial success. It showed how the whole dress reform cause had prospered in Germany when a style of garment could afford to bruit its extreme simplicity as its chief attraction.

From the ever-practical critics in the reform movement came the objection that the new garment leaned rather too far toward the æsthetic

side; that it was better adapted for evening wear than for street wear; and that it presented too much surface for the accumulation of dirt.

None of these faults, however, seem to belong to the simple shift-form, opening in the front, which is the standard foundation of most of these new garments. In its faithful adherence to the one-piece idea, this method departs as far as possible from the methods of the Parisian tailor, whose favorite tool is the scissors. First the fabric, no matter how costly, is ruthlessly dissected into many separate pieces and then these are again pieced together in laborious and artificial patterns. The amount of time consumed in this process is notorious. And this orgy of tailoring for tailoring's sake has cost the women who have supported it a pretty penny.

VII

To tell the story of all the able women who have found a field of work in the dress reform movement would take too long. There is one woman, however, who should not go unmentioned in a report of this movement. Gunda Beeg typifies in her personality and her work some of its most admirable qualities. Her grandfather was the Baron Aufsess, the

founder of the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg, and her father was the director of the Nuremberg Museum of Industrial Arts (Kunstgewerbe). Her mother founded the School for Women's Work in Nuremberg, in which Gunda Beeg received a thorough training. The daughter was, in her turn, one of the founders of the first German organization for the improvement of women's dress. She brought into its counsels a fund of artistic appreciation, technical training, and practical judgment. It seems characteristic of her, and of the movement which she so well represents, that her name should be associated with the new uniform worn by the women in the civil service rather than with any special style of court costume.

The introduction of the Gunda Beeg blouse in the telephone and postal service is a typical feat of the clothing reformers. There are employed in this service, which is administered entirely by the government, 25,000 women. When on duty they are required to wear a uniform similar to that used by the men of the service. Americans who have traveled in Germany are familiar with the dark blue blouse, with colored piping and brass buttons, worn by the young women in the postal and telegraph

offices. The cut of this blouse, as originally prescribed, required the wearing of a corset. In 1912, the newly formed "Union of Women Telephone and Telegraph Employees" united with the Berlin branch of the dress reform organization and sent a petition to the management for the introduction of a more hygienic blouse. Accompanying the petition was a medical brief drawn up by a well-known woman physician, and a model of the proposed blouse, designed and executed by Gunda Beeg.

Such thoroughness of method might be expected to have its influence with the central management, and it did. The reform blouse was tried out for a year in one of the large telephone exchanges, by making it an optional alternative to the old-fashioned "squeezer." The young women preferred it so overwhelmingly that it was officially adopted as a civil service uniform at the end of the trial year. This official acknowledgment of the dress reform idea was no small victory, for it added a great deal to the prestige and influence of the campaign for common sense in the dress question.[3]

The next uniform which is slated for regeneration is the nurse's uniform. Among the different classes of trained nurses, there is only

[3] *Neue Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur*, May, 1914.

one group, the so-called "free sisters," who have taken any steps toward the relegation of the corset. The long hours and the heavy responsibilities of the nurse's work require especially that her uniform shall also be sanitary in the sense that it does not exaggerate her fatigue by its starched and corseted confinement. In this direction, however, the dress reform idea has not made very great headway.

Much easier was its entrance into the gymnasium of the girls' public schools. The reform gymnasium suit has been very widely adopted. The Leipzig society for dress reform designed the gymnasium suit which is the standard pattern for the public schools of the city. It is also through the schools that the reformers have tried to obtain an influence on another strategic article of apparel—the confirmation dress.

This is the all-important dress for the German school girl corresponding to the "graduation dress" of her American sister. Custom decrees that it shall be of purest white and it has much the symbolism of detail that distinguishes the bridal dress. The interesting fact for the dress reformers, however, is that confirmation comes along about the time when the corset first begins to threaten. The mother decides, perhaps, that the new dress, which is a

"grand" garment and must be used for a very long time, had better be fitted over a corset and the girl's bodily bondage begins. Realizing the domestic background of this situation, the dress reformers decided that it was worth while to spend a great deal of energy in cultivating the general taste for simple and corsetless confirmation styles. They distributed leaflets in the schools, with suggestive and attractive designs. Some of the local societies went so far as to supply confirmation dresses free of charge for the young girls of the poorer families.

VIII

The main want of the woman of to-day is a practical street dress and a "business" dress. The woman who is busy earning her living or caring for her family finds in the orthodox fashion magazines a strange and irrelevant picture of life. Evening dress, reception gown, and June brides succeed each other from page to page and are emphasized out of all proportion to the part they play in actual life. For her activities in the home and in her profession, for her goings and comings through the streets, there is very little regard. The one saving exception is the suit,—the coat, blouse, and skirt,

The determination with which women have held on to this practical costume since its first appearance many years ago is an evidence that they are capable of considerable self-assertion against the whims of fashion.

This type of garment was for many years almost the only wear for students and professional women and for street use generally. It had one disadvantage, however, and that was the difficulty of keeping blouse and skirt together without a corset as the connecting link. The one-piece reform dress, by removing this difficulty, was the first effective rival of the suit. For this reason it has been popular with students and with professional and business women. Outside of Germany, it has been introduced in Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia.

In the forefront of the reform movement stands that problem of a suitable professional or business dress. The philosophy of the working-dress is aptly put by Else Wirminghaus: "In earlier times, the different social classes were separated from each other by their different manner of dress, and 'fashion was the mark of belonging to a class.' It served a frankly exclusive purpose. Though we are demanding to-day a working dress, our demand is based

on just the opposite conception. We have no intention to separate different occupations from each other, but we do have the intention of recognizing work as such. So the demand for working clothing results from a democratic view of things." [4]

The production of this type of dress is a primary task of present and future dress reform. In the shops to-day, enthusiastic dress designers are working away at the production of rational standards and their inventions are advertized under names which are a frank avowal of their practical character. One of the latest inventions, launched by a firm of feminist dress-makers and announced in the suffrage journals, is trade-marked the "Every-Day Dress" (Alltagskleid). Of course, these desirable new models must be made accessible by increased factory production and cheapened prices, and this forms one of the problems with which women's organizations must prepare to deal. But when the standards are once achieved, their multiplication will easily follow.

Just what the emancipated dress must be like will still have to be worked out. The most

[4] Wirminghaus: *Die Frau und die Kultur des Körper*, p. 247.

that the reforms so far have accomplished does not include the creation of a satisfactory model, but it does include the creation of an independent attitude among women toward the fashions, and this is the really promising achievement. The use of common sense replaces more and more the anxious subservience to the *mode de rigueur*. The art of dressing is approaching a plastic state, women are themselves in a mood of transition, and conditions are ripening for the successful introduction of a really rational garment.

The essential qualities of such a garment are not all embodied in the present reform dress, and no one knows this better than its makers. They have released the woman's trunk from the corset, but they have not wholly succeeded in freeing her arms and they have postponed the attempt to free her legs until public opinion should be more hospitable. It is true, of course, that any garment necessarily hampers the body's movements to some degree, but this is all the more reason for eliminating the confining features as far as possible. The kimono sleeves, for which much may be said on the æsthetic side, do not solve the sleeve problem. They confine both arms in a sort of cloth yoke, analogous in structure to that which

a pair of oxen wears, and no matter how liberal the dimensions are, the arrangement is unyielding. The Russian blouse sleeve, with its generous arm hole, is equally æsthetic and much more practical.

While the dress reformers have not dispensed with the top skirt, they have waged a very successful campaign against petticoats. Instead, a pair of full trousers of a practical color are worn. The gradual development of this undergarment into an over-garment is not very difficult to foresee. Already they are making and advertising a type of costume which holds much promise. It consists of a pair of full trousers, a coat of about the same length, and leggings. These clothes are used for walking excursion by the "Wander vögel" and for traveling, and there is absolutely no reason why they should offend in the street.

The second half of the reform program relates, as we have already said, to the gymnastic movement. The most important task of this half concerns the physical training of the girls in the public schools. Though the physical education of girls has had far less attention than that of boys in the past, a great improvement is this respect has been observed in recent years. In the reform of the Prussian girls' schools,

the new educational program contained, as a statement of principle, that the physical culture of girls should receive the same attention and strive for the same ends as that of boys. The increased attention now paid in Germany to the physical culture of girls is partly due to the widespread interest in gymnastics and the dance. The work of the dress union has helped to make vague ideals into realities, for it has often been able to influence the local educational authority to take definite action. They have been active with petitions for the exclusion of the corset from the girls' gymnasium and have furthered the adoption of sensible school dresses for pupils of all ages. By these and similar efforts they hope to avert the influences of malformation at their earliest sources; to prepare the way for a future woman who shall be fully emancipated in body as well as in soul,—strong for her task of child-bearing and rejoicing in freedom of motion.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUTTERSCHUTZ IDEA

I

Stimulated mainly by Ellen Key, the movement to reform the institution of marriage is decidedly the most important work of European feminism. The marriage problem is approached by the continental critics from an angle as yet little known in our American discussions. In America, the faults of the marriage institution are seen in the prevalence of divorce. The fact that one out of every twelve marriages ends in divorce is the outstanding feature of the marriage situation in this country. In Europe, on the other hand, the failure of the institution of marriage is seen in the prevalence of illegitimacy. By a curious statistical coincidence, it happens that in Germany one out of every twelve babies born is illegitimate. This mass of illegitimacy is just as disconcerting to the European moralist as the corresponding mass of divorce is to the American moralist. The effect on public discussion is

strikingly prominent. The question of divorce, which occupies so much attention in America, falls into the background in Europe and the question of illegitimacy, which has scarcely been broached in public in this country, is one of the most widely-discussed public questions of the day in foreign countries.[1]

The illegitimate children born in Germany yearly number 180,000. In Sweden, they number 18,000, and in Norway 5,000. Moreover, to get a true picture of the number of individuals concerned, we must double these numbers, because each case of illegitimacy means an outlawed pair, the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child. It is apparent that the fate of so large a group of persons cannot be a matter of indifference to society or state. It is also apparent that the sole form of marriage legally sanctioned in these countries is not that practiced by a considerable portion of the population. Either something is wrong with this large group of human beings or something is wrong with marriage. According to church and state, nothing can be wrong with the form of sex union defined as legal marriage. To

[1] There are, unfortunately, no statistics of illegitimacy in this country to show us where we stand by comparison with European countries.

its official sponsors, it represents the highest ideal of sex morality that has yet been attained, or ever will be attained, by civilization. But according to the woman movement and the Mutterschutz movement, something *is* wrong with the institution of marriage. The woman movement approves of its monogamic basis, but attacks its proprietary rights. Monogamy purified of proprietary rights is the ideal of the main guard of European feminism, the substance of the marriage reforms demanded by the 1905 Program. The Mutterschutz movement goes further. It not only demands the abolition of proprietary rights in marriage, but questions the eternal validity of monogamy itself, if not as ideal morality at least as practical morality.

The high rate of illegitimate births is indirectly encouraged by the number of surplus women in Europe. Owing to emigration and colonial expansion, industrial accident and war, the women find themselves in the unsought position of the majority. This fact serves to decrease the expectation of marriage among women in general and increases the disposition to put up with an irregular instead of a regular union. The man who wishes to evade the burdens and responsibilities of life-long mar-

riage finds it easier to do so. In the colonies, on the other hand, the situation is reversed. The men form the majority of the population and become the competing sex. The woman may name the terms of the sex union and exact the topmost price, life-long support. It is clear that the surplus women gathered together in the centers of European civilization cannot exact this topmost price, even if the woman movement had not taught them to question the morality of a marriage for support.

Besides the number of surplus women, social and economic conditions help to lower the expectation of marriage among women. Social opinion requires a respectable young man to support his wife and family and economic conditions make it impossible for him to do so. He has no choice but to withdraw from the lists until he is economically adequate to the obligations of marriage. The higher critics of monogamy did not fail to call public attention to this fact. "The moral outlawry of the unmarried mother," reads one of the Mutterschutz leaflets, "would be easier to understand if we lived under economic and social conditions which made it possible for every one to marry soon after the arrival of sexual maturity, so that the involuntary marriagelessness of adult

persons would be an abnormal condition. In times like the present, however, when no less than 45 per cent. of all women of child-bearing age are unmarried and those who actually marry only do it at a comparatively advanced age, one must label as untenable the point of view which thrusts from society as an outcast like the lowest criminal the unmarried woman who gives life to a child and surrenders herself to desperation."

II

The organization known as the "Bund für Mutterschutz" has carried on the most revolutionary sexual reforms since the days of Luther. In attacking celibacy, Luther attacked what was then regarded as the highest form of sexual morality. His marriage, the marriage of a monk with a nun, flouted the church and outraged the public opinion of his time. Nevertheless, his teaching and example eventually became the sex code of Protestant Germany and Sweden. Not celibacy but the Lutheran marriage became the highest ideal of sexual ethics. Its supremacy was not questioned until the beginning of the twentieth century brought forth an organized movement which encouraged skepticism toward the Lutheran

sex code and championed the victims of this code, the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child. The Mutterschutz idea was the natural historical corrective of an exclusively theological and proprietary marriage.

The founding of this society in 1905 was the most important historical event in the history of the woman movement since the American Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848. An account of the Berlin convention which appeared in one of the leading women's journals of the day [2] shows how convinced and determined this phase of young-feminism was from the very day when it entered upon its public work.

The giant placards on the Litfass-columns, with the names of the men and women signers, must have previously told even those farthest away from the newest movement that the convention was to be one of extraordinary significance. The mere convening and conferring of the Bund für Mutterschutz is for us the valuable fact, more valuable than the speeches themselves among which there were several which suffered from unnecessary prolixity. It would be desirable, in the repetition of such sessions, to aim for the greatest possible precision and brevity, in order that more time might be given to the resulting

[2] *Frauenrundschau,* March 9, 1905.

discussion which alone is able to find the way from theory to practice.

On the last Sunday the speakers were, among others, Ruth Bré, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Marie Lischnewska, Ellen Key, Lily Braun, Adele Schreiber, and Messrs. Dr. Marcuse, Dr. Bloch, Professor Bruno Meyer, and others. . . .

As the first speaker, Ruth Bré developed the thought that the present contempt of illegitimate motherhood robbed the child not only of a father but also of a mother, since she must board the child out, often conceal it, and finally give it away, thus with her separation from the child losing her best mainstay and sinking the more easily into prostitution. This is why we must protect the mother, the unmarried, but also the married. The speaker urged that health certificates be required as a condition for marriage and that the laws concerning contagious disease should be changed. Children are the nation's wealth. At present the mother suffers from the existence of the illegitimate child and the child from the existence of the mother. How bitter such a lot may be, the speaker continued, could only be measured by one who had experienced it. She herself was an illegitimate child who had only lately found the courage to own her mother and rescue her from a life of misery. This confession was received by the convention with deep emotion.

Ellen Key,[8] who has been so much discussed and

[8] Ellen Key speaks in German as well as in Swedish.

so generously honored in her visit of the last few weeks, made a strong impression as she ascended the podium and expressed her admiration that the German women had taken the initiative in founding the Bund für Mutterschutz and in this respect had gone ahead of all other countries, including the Scandinavian North.

With the establishment of this society, the Mutterschutz Idea became a system. It had already been partly formulated by individuals and leaders, primarily by Ellen Key and Lily Braun. But a society now existed, based on the Mutterschutz Idea, with international connections and systematized activities. Its purpose was stated to be the reform of sexual ethics and the protection of motherhood.

It soon developed that among their other activities, they had to carry on a ceaseless crusade against hypocrisy. They had to reckon not so much with conventional consciences as with guilty consciences. That the latter formed the chief contingent of the opposition was soon discovered by those who did the practical work of the organization. The rapidly accumulating statistics held a mirror up to the social station of the unwedded parents, showing how overwhelmingly ill-matched these parents were. The mother belonged to a humble class,

mainly the serving class, while the father not unusually belonged to middle class circles. Frequently he was a person of unquestioned respectability. In type and social class, he corresponded to the kind of citizen who volunteered in greatest numbers to defend society against the Mutterschutz peril. This explains why the literature of the movement contains so many polemics against hypocrisy. These writers have done much to arouse popular distaste of hypocrisy in all its manifestations—a distaste which constitutes almost a mental staple in the continental habit of thought while it still remains a rare luxury in popular Anglo-Saxon ethics.

III

The whole campaign of the Mutterschutz movement may be divided for convenience into three groups of constructive demands in the field of sex: the demand for new ethical ideals, the demand for new social customs relating to sex, and the demand for legislative enactments. In the organ of the movement, called at first "Mutterschutz" but later taking the title of "Die Neue Generation," all sides of the movement were frankly discussed.

What is morality in the sex-relation? The

inquirers placed themselves before this question as if it had not been answered once for all by the Catholic Church in the earliest centuries and again once for all by Martin Luther some thousand years later. They submitted that sexual ethics, as well as other branches of ethics, could not be settled once for all, but must be revised from age to age by the light of human and social experience. They felt that it was time that certain new ideas should be embodied in the accepted sex code, and these new ideas they called the New Ethics (Die Neue Ethik) over which so much ink has been spilled in the last decade.

The movement was denounced as a menace to the family, the church, and the state. That women should come before the public and discuss such subjects was peculiarly resented. But for the fact that they were so ably championed by such continental celebrities as Professor August Forel of Switzerland, Dr. Rutgers of Holland, Dr. Sigmund Freud of Austria, and Minister of Justice Castberg of Norway, the feminine contingent would have had a much thornier path to tread than they actually did. Much of the criticism took rather low ground, resembling that of the gentleman who sat next to Dr. Helene Stöcker at a din-

ner and whose outraged feelings exploded in the remark: "You talk as if you thought that all women should sow their wild oats and all men should be chaste." Ellen Key was perhaps more severely punished in her country for her doctrines than was Dr. Stöcker in hers. In one place Ellen Key's biographer naïvely remarks that the possession of the doctor's title might have helped her somewhat. She was denounced as a seducer and corrupter of youth. For a long time opinion wavered between the hemlock cup and the laurel crown. Eventually, however, the crown was extended and she was honored by the Swedish government with the gift of the beautiful stretch of seaside land which is now her home.

Briefly explained, the New Ethicists are practical evolutionists. They proceed from the fundamental principle that some system of applied evolution is the only possible ethical guide in the matter of sex relationships. For the old ascetic conscience, they would substitute the modern eugenic conscience. In the matter of ethical laws and institutions, as well as other laws and institutions, change cannot be prevented and so the only way to rationalize the inevitable changes is to control them in the light of the teachings of the science of evolu-

tion. Popular ideals of sexual ethics are especially backward as they have been kept so long in the darkest cellar of the human consciousness. The first condition of progress in sexual reform is a general enlightenment as to existing sexual conditions,—the accepted sexual code, its observances and its evasions,—in the most civilized of modern states. Women especially must participate in this era of sexual enlightenment (Sexuelle Aufklärung) because the innocence-fetich has kept them ignorant in this regard.

The first commandment of the New Ethics has been taken from Nietzsche.

"Thou shalt not propagate, but elevate, the race." This principle is opposed to all casual parentage; sex must be placed at the service of evolution. Volitional breeding must take the place of accidental breeding, quality of offspring must take the place of blind numbers. Here we recognize the teachings of the new eugenics movement as well, whose principles are one with that phase of the woman movement which seeks to liberate and empower the mother in woman. As a prophet of evolution, Nietzsche could not help placing a high value on the mother, just as his hatred of democracy made it impossible for him to do justice to the

woman. The foreign woman movement has been confronted in Nietzsche by a pro-maternal philosopher and an anti-feministic philosopher. It has accordingly bisected his philosophy, taken therefrom what they liked and discarded what they didn't. Of Nietzsche and the suffragists, we shall have to speak in another chapter.

According to Ellen Key, the New Morality gives a new definition of chastity. "Chastity consists in the harmony between the soul and the senses, and no sexual relationship is moral without such relationship." [4] Lack of chastity may degrade the legalized union as well as the unlegalized one, and chastity may justify the sex union which the state and church have not sanctioned. Ethically, there is nothing to choose between the conscience-marriage of a George Eliot and Henry Lewes and the legal marriage of an Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning. Although many of the followers of the New Ethics (all of them in fact so far as I have been able to follow their writings) believe that the monogamous union is the highest ideal of marriage, they protest against its exclusive adoption as an ethical standard. This is the kernel of the New Ethics. It will

[4] *Renaissance of Motherhood*, p. 89.

be seen that it is not so much a proclamation of an actual new ethics as it is a questioning and criticism of the old ethics, the "official ethics" as its critics call it. To the American readers of Ellen Key's works these ideas are already familiar. Their importance for European feminism lies in the currency they have achieved through organization and propaganda.

IV

The progressive features of the Scandinavian divorce laws unquestionably reflect the influence of these ideas. Little by little the laws of Sweden and Norway have been altered in recent years to a form which now permits divorce by mutual consent. The Norwegian law, for instance, divides the procedure into two stages, separation and divorce. When the separation is demanded by both parties, it is granted without question. If, at the end of a year, both parties agree in claiming a divorce, this also is granted by the magistrate without question. No reasons need be given in either case.

If the separation is claimed by one of the parties only, it may be granted against the protest of the other party on grounds of drunkenness or gross neglect of conjugal duty; or if

the relation between husband and wife has grown so unfriendly that the continuance of the married state would be inimical to the welfare of the parents and the children. The decree of divorce may only be granted after two years of separation, if one of the parties has contested it.

The Crown may grant a divorce at the claim of one of the parties without a legal separation having taken place if an actual separation has existed for a period of three years or if the other party has been insane for that period of time. In all cases of separation and divorce, the magistrate must sanction the agreement made between husband and wife regarding the custody and support of the children or settle their differences regarding the same. It is strictly forbidden that divorce cases should be reported in the newspapers and the question of cost plays very little part. Divorce is cheap, and for the poor it is practically free.[5]

V

The right to motherhood is another ethical idea freely agitated by the Mutterschutz movement. There would seem to be little need to

[5] Legal Position of Women in Norway, by J. Castberg, in *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1912.

defend a human right so manifest. Yet popular opinion is still far away from assimilating the idea of motherhood as a right. I need scarcely say, the vindication of this particular right has been theoretical rather than practical. Needless to say, also, that section of the public which was most aghast at the idea of the right to motherhood was most alarmed at the falling birth-rate. The woman movement was held responsible for both phenomena, and not altogether unjustly. While the falling birth-rate is due to many and complex causes, it is true that the branch of the woman movement which we are considering in this chapter has recently made a definite stand for the right of the married woman to limit her family. On the other hand, it has stood even longer for the woman's right to motherhood.

To all but the most hysterical alarmists it ought to be clear that the existence of these two demands side by side is evidence of a natural and healthy revolt of the child-bearing sex. It is the direct effort of the maternal instinct to find its own way between compulsory sterility and enforced over-breeding. And I may say here that I mean an inward maternal imperative, which women, as yet, can scarcely account for to themselves and of which men, with all

their lip-worship of the maternal instinct, can have no idea. For men are, after all, the womb-less sex. To those women, on the other hand, who believe in the future of their sex the ultimate triumph of volitional motherhood over sex slavery is one of the indispensable conditions of that future.

The defense of the right to motherhood, then, naturally led to the defense of the right to birth-control. To the comparatively small body of women who entered the field of sex reform and took the high risks of pioneering, too much credit cannot be given. One of these is Frau Marie Stritt, the editor of the *Frauenfrage*. Frau Stritt is President of the Woman Suffrage Union of Germany and Vice-President of the International Malthusian League. For a great many years, she has stood high in the councils of the suffrage movement and the Mutterschutz movement. She is therefore equally interested in the political and the sex emancipation of women and the relation of both to the broader feminist movement as a whole. She feels that the time has come for the woman movement to take up the question of birth-control as it is undeniably one of the most important, if not the most important, of all public questions affecting women. This

position of Frau Stritt's is not likely to be weakened but rather to be strengthened by the bloody course of events in Europe. Even before the war, the population question had forced itself into the forefront of discussion, and it is likely to assume a still more prominent place in the wake of so much organized and wholesale bloodshed. Whatever has been its position in the past, the organized woman movement will no longer be able to stand aside from the discussion of the population question.[6]

One of the most important contributions to the continental Malthusian movement is a book by a Dutch physician, Dr. Rutgers. The German edition has been translated by Martine Kramers, and together with the introduction by Marie Stritt can be owned by any woman

[6] *The Journal of American Medicine* for April 10, 1915, reports that "The year 1914 in Berlin closed with a birth-rate which was 3,500 less than that of the preceding year. The five years from 1909 to 1913 produced 45,960, 44,188, 43,201, 42,581, 40,832 living births. The year 1914, on the other hand, showed only about 37,300. The figures for 1914 are a temporary estimate, but it might be increased at the most on account of delayed reports by a few dozen. The mortality increased in 1914 by about 1,600. For 1914, a current estimate gives 29,650 births without still-births. The excess of births over deaths for the years 1909-1913 amounted to 14,116, 14,036, 10,894, 12,600, 12,767, but for 1914 only about 7,650. In 1914, the excess of births was about 5,100 less than for 1913, that is, about 40 per cent."

who has fifty cents. In her introduction to the book, Frau Stritt analyzes the relation of the problem to the woman question.

It is not as if "Rassenverbesserung" represented purely feministic tendencies, or as if it proceeded in its treatment of this most important of modern cultural problems exclusively from the woman's standpoint. On the contrary, just because the book illumines the population problem on all sides, in its individual and social, its economic and hygienic bearings; just because it is to be regarded as the confession of faith of an intelligent social-politician as well as the imperative demand of an ethical and humanitarian thinker, as the result of the scientific investigation of an expert and the practical experience of a widely-active physician; and because, from all these standpoints, and many others, with irresistible logic, he comes to the same conclusion, the only conclusion which can also be a satisfactory conclusion of one of the most burning of the woman questions—exactly this is what makes the book so valuable for our cause.

One would think that the demand of Neo-Malthusianism expressed therein: the voluntary regulation of the number of children by the mother [7] would be the fundamental, self-evident demand of those who assert on women's behalf all the subjective and objective

[7] The voluntary regulation of the family by the father has been for many years sanctioned by the Catholic Church of France.

rights of personality. One would think that the bare suggestion that her most intimate concern should be stripped of free will and personal responsibility and left to blind chance and sex-slavery alone would outrage all the advocates of the woman movement. However, this has not hitherto been the case. There are still few in our ranks who dare to draw the same conclusion for all, and openly to confess their allegiance. The cause may be partly a certain shrinking from the public discussion of these subjects, although they touch the most vital interests of women—simply mean for them their To-Be or Not-To-Be; it may partly be the not unfounded fear of giving offense in many circles, for one is still not allowed "vor keuschen Ohren nennen, was keusche Herzen nicht entbehren können," [8] and it may partly be perhaps the defective knowledge and frequently mistaken impressions about this subject and about the physiological and psychological condition of motherhood. As the strongest factor, however, still another must be taken into consideration.

The question of family limitation in our country is still handled in a purely academic way; people sit around the discussion table and exchange opinions, without reckoning at all with the most important factor in their discussion, the mothers immediately concerned. . . . The idea is emphatically rejected for the great masses of the people, though practical

[8] "To name before chaste ears, what chaste hearts cannot do without."

Malthusianism is winning ground from day to day in educated circles, that is, the people around the discussion table. The humor of this naïve self-glorification and this curious contradiction between theory and practice has not been noticed by our masculine or even—more's the pity—by our feminine social-politicians. This is not especially remarkable. The gates of the sanctuaries of science have but just been opened to women. Not yet can, or dare, they go their own way; thankfully they must follow in the path of their leaders, thankfully accept here also what the man's conception of the official man's world offers them. Thus they accept in the questions of population policies, as the only correct standpoint, the sole standardized view hitherto, that of men; and try to reconcile themselves to the deepest distress of their own sex-comrades with the weak concession that family limitation may be desirable for the individual woman in the individual case but would be harmful to society for certain economic reasons.

The criticism which the woman, from the woman's standpoint, does not yet dare to lay upon the accepted population policies, is practiced by Dr. Rutgers all the more severely from all standpoints, although always in a scientific and dignified tone. With startling surety of aim, he strikes one weapon after the other from the hands of the theorists who speak for a limitless increase of the population. By a quantity of examples from the past and present and

a wealth of statistical material, he proves the falsity of their economic and hygienic assumptions and conclusions. Let it be their own affair to reckon with Dr. Rutgers. It is scarcely to be assumed that he will convince them, since contradictory philosophies that make understanding difficult may also exert their influence here. But one ventures to hope that at least the feminine theorists will not persistently turn their backs on his arguments, as it relieves them of the sad alternative before which they see themselves placed to-day. They do not need to sacrifice any longer to the population policy, the individual welfare and the self-determinism of their sex-comrades, if the two no longer oppose each other but coincide. . . .

To the many million practicants—if I may use this term for those who have felt and still feel in their own lives the wretchedness of undesired and unwilled motherhood, for them the Rutgers book speaks a saving word; it speaks the last word in the woman movement. The woman question is not a spinsters' question as perhaps one was formerly inclined to regard it. It concerns itself with the complete human being, all the rights of personality of the full-grown woman. Only short-sighted blindness can lend itself to the delusion that this can be achieved without the emancipation of woman as a sex-being. All her other achievements in the economic, social, and intellectual fields, and together with them, all her general cultural achievements, remain illusory, or at best lim-

ited to a comparatively small group, so long as women do not have the responsibility of their lives as mothers:—so long as, in this most fundamental point of the woman's sphere, they leave the dominion in the hands of blindly swaying natural forces which civilized man masters in all other spheres and yokes in the service of his own will and purposes. Thus the question here unrolled includes for all those who have learned to think their thoughts to the end the real innermost core of the woman question. Thus in a certain sense the population question is to be regarded as the woman question, and at the same time as the economic and social, as the vocational, legal, moral, and last but not least as the educational problem.

"Henceforth the woman will not sigh beneath her fertility as beneath the curse of the lost paradise; through physiological knowledge she has again come to be the mistress of her own body and of her own fate." These brave words of Dr. Rutgers are already partly true for the educated and possessing classes, thanks to the means of medical science in the last three decades and the practical Malthusianism founded thereupon which has been growing more and more at home in our own country. In view of this fact, however, it is a pressing, an undeniable duty of the middle class woman movement which embraces all these circles, to share its blessings, primarily by means of a general educational propaganda, with those who need them even more, for whom they are

a life-and-death question—the weary and heavy-laden mothers of the working people.

VI

The sex reform movement early made a concentrated attack on two social conventions in particular. One of these was the convention that childhood and youth should be kept as long as possible in ignorance of all matters concerning sex. The second convention was that married and unmarried women should be socially differentiated by separate titles. These two demands, sex instruction for the young and the unity-title for women, were furthered by organized resistance to lazy sex customs.

In the campaign for sex instruction for the young, a drama by Frank Wedekind, a German poet, played a very important part. We are not accustomed in this country to regard the stage as an ally of social reforms or indeed as the medium for the expression of ideas, but the European stage is quite a different matter. Ibsen's contribution to feminism, Hauptmann's contribution to socialism, and Wedekind's contribution to sexual reform were not the odd scraps of the artists' workshops but the very soul and purpose of their dramatic thinking. And just as the *Doll's*

House showed the reverse side of masculine chivalry, so *Spring's Awakening* showed the reverse side of youthful innocence. It was a merciless arraignment of parents and educators for their self-complacent neglect of one of their most important duties. It pictures with extraordinary fidelity of physiological and emotional detail, a group of boys and girls meeting the experiences of adolescence without a word of protective explanation from their elders. "I have gone through Meyer's *Little Encyclopedia* from A to Z," declared one of the lads. "Words—nothing but words and words! Not a single plain explanation. Oh, this feeling of shame!—What good to me is an encyclopedia that won't answer me concerning the most important question in life?"

This play is called a *Children's Tragedy,* but it might more accurately be described as a tragedy of youth's sex curiosity. Little Wendla dies as the result of an abortion committed with her mother's consent and Melchior is sent by his father to a House of Correction. Both children owed their tragedy to the twisting and thwarting of a natural curiosity which is far more normal, when properly guided, than the state of innocence in which this mis-

taken father and easy-going mother would fain have kept them.

Though this play had been published in book form in the early nineties, it was scarcely known until the sex reformers popularized it for propaganda purposes. At first the "Polizei" refused to permit its performance, but Professor Eric Schmidt of the Berlin University interceded in person and the department gave its permission. A private performance was given in Nuremberg, sponsored by the Women's Clubs. The book ran through many editions; and its influence has helped to lift the silence which custom decrees as the only form of sex education suitable for the young. Parents and teachers have gone ahead in voluntarily assuming their responsibility, and in persuading the educational authorities that sex instruction should be regularly imparted in the schools.

VII

The second convention attacked by the Bund für Mutterschutz was one which seemed to many people of minor importance. The use of Fräulein in German-speaking countries and of Fröken in Scandinavian for unmarried women is a custom which has nestled so long

in the subconscious mind of the public that any attempt to focus attention upon it was bound to be violently resisted. Habits are even harder to change than laws. However, as soon as the speaker becomes at all conscious of the meaning of these diminutive forms, they have a belittling effect which is far from complimentary. In short, a Fräulein is an undeveloped, an unfulfilled being who can only attain maturity by the favor of a member of the opposite sex. It is a point of view which has inspired many a flowery epithalamium. A classic among marriage hymns is that composed by John Donne, the English clergyman-poet, with the refrain, "To-day put on perfection and a woman's name."

The original intention of the unity-title was to protect the unmarried mother. In her case, the epithet "Fräulein" invites the social persecution and social revenge to which she is always exposed. To shield her, groups of women began to repudiate for themselves the title "Fräulein" and to assume the adult title "Frau." In Switzerland, a petition was drawn up and signed by 10,000 women asking the government for the official introduction of this change. In point of fact, there is no legal reinforcement of this custom to be overcome—

only the custom itself. Therefore, many women have simply assumed without further ceremony the title "Frau" and gone about their business. When Frau Rosika Schwimmer was asked during her visit to America why she had taken the title of "Frau," she replied, "I was thirty-five last year and thought it was time."

This campaign was greatly stimulated by the use of the phrase, "Einheits-Titel." It aroused an emotional echo in the growing sense of solidarity among women and symbolized a whole group of feelings in the modern woman which she is seeking for means to express. An organization was formed, the "Propaganda Bund für den Einheits-Titel," and a systematic literary campaign was instituted. Among the new recruits were university graduates, doctors of philosophy and doctors of medicine, who held the opinion that a university degree ought to be as good a certificate of maturity as a marriage license. As practical psychologists and students of social psychology, they have learned too much to be put off with the idle query: "What's in a name?" The form of address is, of course, a measure of popular feeling and the separate title custom is intimately bound up with the double standard of morals. It is part of the same deeply sugges-

tive nomenclature according to which the words "honor" and "virtue" have one meaning for men and another for women.

Professor Forel has given the unity-title movement a prominent place in his program of sex-reforms and social reforms. "Civilization must strive before all else that every child, whether legitimate or illegitimate, is given the same regard and the same rights, and that the illegitimate children are not placed beyond the pale by a different system of naming. Against this nothing can help but the naming of all children after the maternal line.[9] Equally infamous is the idea of the "Fräulein"-mother, which in turn can only be helped by the unification of the title for women. We have no "Herrlein" and "Herren" and we should not have "Fräulein" and "Frauen."[10]

VIII

The practical work of the Bund für Mutterschutz includes the maintenance of stations where information and hospital addresses are given to women approaching confinement. It sometimes happened that the applicant arrived

[9] The much talked of Norwegian project, discussed in the following chapter, solves the problem another way.

[10] *Kulturbestrebungen der Gegenwart,* by August Forel. München, 1910.

at the office only after the labor pains had begun. Time and again one hears a report of a young and ignorant girl who, concealing her condition from her employers, gives birth to her baby in some dark, hidden corner without human aid. Maternity under such conditions reproduces all too truly the solitude, darkness, and agony of the cave-mother's childbirth vigil. In the history of the development of human sympathies, the long indifference of women, of the feminist movement, and of the so-called "good" women in the movement and out of it, to the conditions under which the so-called "bad" woman, whose "badness" partly consists in having a child without having a legal refuge, will be the hardest of all to explain. Of all woman's inhumanities to woman, this is without doubt the most inhuman.

Although the society does not call itself a philanthropic organization, much of its work is necessarily of that character. An important branch of its work is to provide legal aid for the women who need such advice. It also helps the mother to find employment for herself and a home for the child. At the Mutterschutzhaus near Berlin, children whose mothers must be necessarily separated from them are kept until the age of six. In every way, the society seeks

to strengthen the bond between the mother and the child, which like all other human bonds is susceptible to shaping, and thus to prevent the mother from definitely committing herself to a life of prostitution. It is known that the maternity wards and hospitals are a source for recruits to the brothel population of the great cities. This is vividly brought out in Else Jerusalem's psychological novel dealing with brothel life. The author describes the way in which Madame Goldscheider managed to articulate her establishment with the maternity hospitals.

Madame Goldscheider had opened yet a last and more certain source from which she could procure, with impunity, girls whom she took into her school, trained, and exploited. This source was the public maternity hospitals and institutes. She maintained friendly and well-paid relations with the porters and attendants and could depend upon it with certainty that she would be immediately informed as soon as any material of her sort had been admitted.

They were for the most part social outcasts, creatures harassed by adverse fate, to whom it was a burden to go on living, and they listened with avidity to the descriptions and promises of a care-free life. From the lips of the attendants there flowed, sweeter than honey, the story of how glorious the place was,

how fine and pleasurable the days as they passed. Then after her path had thus been smoothed, Madame Goldscheider came and removed the last resistance with a resolute hand; that is, she provided for the child with one of the country women who were daily at hand and it was clear that most of the girls were heartily glad to be relieved of the overwhelming burden. For them all, motherhood was the cruel awakening after a frivolous and pleasure-loving dream of the senses.

There they lay in the iron bed-steads between the coarse gray linen sheets, governesses beside servant-maids, working women beside middle-class girls who had forsaken their native provinces, and wholly immature proletarian children, from fourteen to sixteen years old, who lay pale and wasted in their beds, glad to have a roof above their misery. On these and similar business excursions, Milada was required to accompany her Madame; she sat beside the driver and contemplated the meager luggage which the recruit carried with her. From the interior of the carriage she heard at the start continuing wails and outcries but the voice of Madame Goldscheider went on speaking with friendly calmness, so that by the time they arrived at Carlotta's or the Red House the eyes of the "fresh" girls brightened with eager expectation. This very direct and undeniable gravitation of Madame Goldscheider toward medium types, who might maintain their place between the paid prostitute and the respectable girl, gave her salon its

individuality and the "nuances" which attracted great attention in the smart world.[11]

IX

In the field of Legislation the Bund für Mutterschutz has been continuously active. By helping to shape the legislation for the protection of mothers in industry and also the development of the maternity insurance system, they have rendered a far-reaching and solid service to millions of women. For their movement, which is strongly emotional at the core and often dithyrambic in its literature, has nevertheless carried on the soberest and most scientific of medical and legislative work.

Long ago the German author, Lessing, taught his countrymen in his *Laokoon* that stoicism and strength were not necessarily one and the same; that the Greeks were great just because they were capable of strong emotion and of strong determination at the same time. This teaching of Lessing's seems to be especially exemplified in the character of the movement for maternity protection. It reminds us of the Greeks who could both weep and conquer. The cooler-headed Anglo-Saxon femin-

[11] *Der Heilige Scarabaeus*, by Else Jerusalem. Berlin, 1911, p. 130.

ists who distrust the emotionalism of the maternity protection movement should not therefore conclude that its ideas are impractical nor their advocates mere sentimentalists. A glance at the recent legislative enactments and pending legislative projects of Germany, Sweden, and Norway will furnish very positive proof to the contrary.

CHAPTER V

STATE MATERNITY INSURANCE

I

The development of state maternity insurance in Europe forms one of the most significant chapters in the history of the changing status of women. With its introduction, the economic valuation of maternity becomes a possible conception. The principle of state-supported motherhood is admittedly the basis of even the most inadequate maternity insurance. It recognizes maternity as a service to the state, and entitles the wife to claim support, nominal though the payment may be in the initial stages of maternity insurance, from some other source besides her husband. This recognition is one of the most substantial victories of the German and Scandinavian woman movement.

On the other hand, the foreign feminists have no desire to stress the economic valuation of maternity to a degree which would mean the denial of the mother's right to work, or her

exclusion from the ordinary wage-earning occupations. But they do maintain that her hard-won and dear-bought economic independence shall not be sacrificed as a condition for maternity. Ellen Key's program requires the state to support the mother and child for a period of three years. Henriette Fürth, whose demands are tied down to the essentially practical, merely asks that the mother shall be reimbursed for the wages she loses and for a period of six to eight weeks following her confinement and eight weeks preceding it. Along these lines, the emancipation of the mother from sex-slavery becomes a practical and feasible prospect and not a Utopian dream.

The payment of a definite sum directly to the mother as maternity insurance marks the beginning of her transition from a use-value world to an exchange-value world. Hitherto, maternity has never been organized into the economic world at all. Its value was subjective only and the mother's affection was its own reward. This is why many people, women especially, dislike the thought that child-bearing and child-rearing should be associated with any schedule of money payments. The mother's care of her child is something whose psychological and spiritual value is inestimable;

it is, admittedly, one of the greatest of cultural influences. It is a tremendous contribution, but it cannot be bought. All this, of course, is very true. But if we consider the number of paid vocations to-day which were once their own reward,—the paid minister of the gospel, the paid teacher, the paid social worker,—we almost wonder why paid maternity was not long ago the rule in civilized states. Certainly a state which professes to place as high a value on its cultural influences as Germany professes to do, should see to it that the natural guardians of infancy should be protected from want. After all, we live in an economic world and not in a Paul-and-Virginia paradise.

A great stimulus to maternity insurance in Germany was the falling birth-rate. The era of a diminishing birth-rate began in the year 1877. It has been accompanied, of course, by a diminishing death-rate, according to the general law of population. In Germany's case, the death-rate has fallen so much faster than the birth-rate that the surplus of the living has continued to increase. Nevertheless, at the turn of the birth-rate, maternity takes on a new aspect for the state. It may be the most intimate concern of a woman's life, but in a state which has grown population-conscious, child-

bearing cannot continue to be an altogether individual matter. For if, as the economists teach us, population is wealth, then the mothers who create the population must become an economic factor, whether they will or no.

II

The beginning of maternity insurance in Germany antedates by many years the beginning of the Mutterschutz movement. In its earliest form, it was a minor detail in the complex system of industrial insurance with which Bismarck tried to stanch the flow of socialistic opinion. The socialists decided to accept Bismarck's half-a-loaf and the social-democratic women carried on an unremitting propaganda for the maternity insurance idea. However, the movement never got under way until the beginning of the twentieth century. Frau Lily Braun, one of the ablest of the women socialists, stimulated the agitation greatly with her writings. In her *Frauenfrage* (Woman Question), published in 1901, she took up the discussion of the subject and in 1906 she published her *Mutterschaftsversicherung* (Maternity Insurance), devoted to this one phase of the woman question. In the meantime, the socialist woman's journal, with Clara Zetkin

at the head, carried on the campaign so auspiciously inaugurated by Lily Braun in 1901. In the pages of this journal, Henriette Fürth has worked out the practical economic details of maternity insurance with unquestioned expertness.

Through Frau Alice Bensheimer, the Bund deutscher Frauenvereine, that is, the organized middle-class woman's movement, became interested in maternity insurance and gave it continuous support. Dr. Alice Saloman, whose writings are authoritative among social reformers and philanthropists in more countries than her own, has contributed much to the German movement. And finally, the entrance of the Bund für Mutterschutz completed the muster of all branches of the feminist movement on the side of at least one unanimous demand, state maternity insurance. The socialist woman's movement, the middle-class woman's movement, and the new morality movement have been one in regard to this issue.

III

The basis of maternity insurance was sick insurance. Childbed was compensated, under the law, in the same way as other illnesses. The allowance was called "confinement benefit"

(Wochengeld) instead of sick-benefit (Krankengeld), but it was measured out in the same way. The arguments for thus classing confinement among the sicknesses entitled to compensation were based on the high maternal mortality and infant mortality rates.

The maternal mortality rates of the European countries are by no means so well worked out as the infant mortality rates. Such investigations as have been made have not achieved any wide publicity or popular discussion. There is no evidence that the death rate of women from childbirth has caused the governing classes many sleepless nights though the infant mortality rate has begun to do so. The woman movement is in great need of further investigation and greater publicity concerning the physical conditions of child-bearing. As a matter of fact, neglect of maternity and neglect of infancy go hand in hand, and the welfare and health of both the mother and the child are promoted by the same means. Yet it happens rarely, in the crisis of childbirth, that a choice must be made between the mother's life and the child's and in these cases it is an accepted principle of medical ethics that the mother's life is preferred. It is told of Napoleon that he was asked, during the difficult

birth of the little King of Rome, whether the mother's life or the child's should be saved if the choice became necessary. His reply was, "The mother's. It is her right." Certainly Napoleon cannot be accused of a leaning toward feministic doctrines, yet even he recognized the right of the mother to this extent. There is, indeed, no question but that the child-bearer shall be protected against all preventable disease and accident, and that the responsibility for such protection rests upon the state. The persistent neglect of this duty is not justifiable by any reason; it is but the lingering influence of an oriental fatalism which invented the myth of the curse of Eve. This myth has taught men to stand aside and regard with complacent neutrality this immemorial battle of woman with nature, and woman herself to submit to many preventable evils.

The statistics of maternity mortality in Germany are summarized by Henriette Fürth in her comprehensive study of maternity insurance published in 1911. Between 1892 and 1895, the deaths from childbirth amounted to four-tenths per cent. of the number of births; between 1896 and 1905, the percentage was three-tenths, thus indicating a decrease in a comparatively short space of time. Here we

have marked out the small number of fatal childbirths in relation to the whole number of successful childbirths.

But when the number of deaths from childbirth is compared with the number of deaths from other causes, the resulting figures are far from reassuring. In Prussia, between 1891 and 1900, 11 per cent. of the deaths of all women between the ages of twenty-five and forty years occurred in childbirth. Dr. von Franqué estimates that 10,000 women die every year in Germany from parturition or its consequences. This yearly loss is compared by Henriette Fürth with the German losses in the Franco-Prussian war, which amounted to 40,000 lives on the German side. During forty years of peace, Germany lost 400,000 mothers' lives, that is, ten times what she lost in soldiers' lives in the campaign of 1870 and 1871.

That it is possible to reduce the amount of maternal mortality is seen from the fact that advances in medical science and aseptic methods have already done so to some extent. In Saxony, the mortality from childbirth fell from 7.4 per thousand in 1883 to 5.4 per thousand in 1904. Of the 10,000 yearly deaths estimated by von Franqué, 7,000 are due to childbed fever. These facts show that it is possible to

reduce the existing amount of maternal mortality, if, instead of citing for the mother's consolation the "judgment of Eve," she is given the scientific care which her condition requires. This is mainly an economic problem. The neglected mothers of the working class suffer by uncounted thousands from abdominal weaknesses and other consequences of their lack of ability to pay for proper care. Even the small sum now measured out to them by the German government is a great resource against neglect and want.

With regard to the infant mortality rate, Germany has been a chief offender among the European nations. In the years between 1891 and 1900, the average mortality of children less than one year of age was 21.7 per cent. Between 1901 and 1905, the rate fell to 19.9 per cent. By 1912, it had fallen to 14.7 per cent. In Scandinavia, the infant death-rate has never been so high as in Germany. In Sweden, between 1891 and 1900, the average was but 10.2 per cent. and fell to 9.2 per cent. for the years between 1901 and 1905. In Norway, the rate for 1891-1900 was 9.7 per cent. and for 1901-1905, 8.1 per cent. The low Norwegian figure was almost ideal from the German point of view; it fixed a goal which

the advocates of maternity protection hoped to reach but hardly dared to hope to pass. However, a decade of Mutterschutz and several decades of maternity insurance have encouraged them in their campaign for the conservation of infancy and there is every sign that the government's ear has grown increasingly hospitable to suggestions for maternity protection. Germany still has half a million baby funerals a year, and no better argument for the insurance of motherhood is needed.

IV

The past history of the maternity insurance acts of Germany may be divided, for convenience, into three stages. It began in 1878 with a law which prohibited the industrial employment of women for three weeks following a confinement. This law, which provided no compensation for the mother, was of course a dead letter. Recently, similar laws were enacted in this country in the states of New York and Massachusetts. These laws forbid the mother to work for four weeks after her confinement and ignore the question of compensation. After four years of such a law, Germany discovered her mistake and decreed that one-half the woman's wages should be paid her

during the enforced maternal recess. The obligatorium, as the rest-period was called, was now bound up with the compensation idea and the one could no longer be extended without the other.

In 1891, the period was extended to four weeks and in 1903, to six weeks. The law now provided that women engaged in certain employments, who had been insured for six months previous to their confinement, were entitled to a confinement benefit for six weeks. Local societies were permitted by this act to establish, according to their financial ability, a pregnancy benefit, payable for six weeks also. But very few societies made use of the option. The growth of the compulsory maternity insurance system has occurred in such a way that the optional features of each stage became the new compulsory features of the succeeding stage.

With the year 1911, maternity insurance was again enlarged. The much-heralded revision contained the legal recognition of pregnancy insurance. The obligatorium was now extended to eight weeks, of which only six were required to follow the confinement. Two weeks of paid vacation in the last stage of pregnancy —well, it is something! The law still allowed

the local society at its option to extend the pregnancy-leave and pregnancy-benefit to six weeks. It furthermore permitted the introduction of a nursing premium to be paid for twelve weeks and equal to half of the confinement benefit. This law also extended the insured circles very considerably by including all wage-earning women whose yearly income was less than $500 (2,000 marks). This brought in, besides the factory workers, agricultural workers, domestic servants, home-workers, and mercantile employees. On the other hand, it was limited to women who were themselves wage-earners and did not apply to the wives of wage-earners, though the latter might insure themselves voluntarily if they liked.

V

The practice of allowing a nursing premium has made great progress in the German cities. This idea found favor because of the publicity which had been given to the statistics showing that breast-fed babies have a much better chance of life than the artificially-fed. The mortality of breast-fed babies is to that of bottle babies as 1 is to 7. This means, Henriette Fürth points out, that four-fifths of the total infant mortality might be avoided if all babies

received their natural feeding. In 1907, 212,000 babies died in Prussia alone. Of these, 160,000 might have been saved by natural, instead of artificial, feeding.

Dr. Bittmann found that out of every 100 artificially-fed babies who die during the hot summer months of diarrhea, the rich mothers furnish two-tenths per cent., the middle-class mothers, five per cent., and the working-class mothers, 94.73 per cent.

This does not mean that the poorer German mothers employ artificial feeding more commonly than the well-to-do mothers. In fact, the contrary is true. A study was made in Berlin which showed that in spite of the large proportion of wage-earning mothers in the working-class, it is not this class which furnishes the largest proportion of non-nursing mothers. In this study, the mothers who lived in two and three rooms furnished the largest percentage of nursing mothers and those who lived in six-room homes and over furnished the smallest percentage.

What does happen, however, is that the poverty baby who is deprived of the breast has to fall back upon a nourishment immensely inferior in quality to that which the well-to-do baby can afford. As a breast-fed baby, however,

he has almost an equal chance of life with the richest baby in the country, provided the richest baby is breast-fed too. This is seen in the results of an investigation by Neumann which showed that 95.1 per cent. of the breast-fed babies of poor mothers survived the first year of life and 97.4 per cent. of the breast-fed babies of well-to-do mothers. Allowing for all the other things which are so notoriously unequal in the environment of the poverty baby and the well-to-do baby, these figures seem to show an extraordinary equality in the natural food-supply of both. The working-class mother may be overworked and undernourished and yet her milk-supply is better for her baby than the most expensive substitute.

The cities which have introduced the nursing premiums, have attempted to prevent its being regarded as a charity. The city of Leipzig gives a nursing-premium of from 3 to 6 marks ($.75 to $1.50) a week for 13 weeks. Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Nuremberg, Freiburg, and others have a system of nursing-premiums. Berlin paid in 1907, 5,090 such premiums. Each of these mothers received, on an average, 19 marks ($4.75). This by no means covers the scattered and empirical beginnings of nursing insurance which existed in Germany at the

outbreak of the war, for the system was springing up everywhere even though it had not yet been made a part of the official insurance provisions.

VI

The summer of 1914 and the European war gave a new stimulus to maternity insurance. It was suddenly widened to embrace the wives of all wage-earning men who were themselves eligible to the insurance benefit and who were enlisted for military service. The soldier's wife was entitled to free medical service, confinement benefit, and nursing premium. She was allowed one mark ($.25) a day for eight weeks, and an additional half-mark a day for twelve weeks as nursing premium. She was allowed a free doctor, or thirty-five marks ($8.75) towards the expense of a doctor. In short, the soldier's wife was given more than the self-insured woman had as yet received; and consequently in order to prevent discontent, it was necessary to raise the entire standard of allowance for the whole group of the insured. After the war, it will not be easy for the government to withdraw the increased benefit, so far as it applies to the wage-earning mother, for it was not so much an emergency

measure as the unexpected arrival of the next step.

However, the whole maternity insurance system of Germany, now standing at its highest point, only insures the *wage-earning mother* and the *soldier's wife,* the one because she is attached to national industry and the other because she is attached to the national defense. The insurance of the *mother as such* has not yet arrived and that is now the logical next step of state maternity insurance. Until it does come, the largest group of child-bearing women within the working class are excluded from the maternity benefit of which they most especially stand in need.

Indeed, we may expect to see considerable growth in the maternity insurance provisions of Germany during the next few years. Of course the government will have to find its own reasons for going ahead, good masculine reasons which the masculine mind will understand. The spectacle of official diplomacy working out official reasons for granting a feminist demand is an exhibition from which watchful feminists may learn a great deal, if indeed it doesn't make them too furious to think. Still, it pays to keep one's head and listen while the men, as Kaethe Schirmacher says, are talking

out of school. "He has revealed himself, unreservedly, in his world,"—and especially, one might add, in his newspapers.

The German newspapers, for instance, are able to advocate maternity insurance in such a way that the most instructed feminist would scarcely recognize that the mother has any interest in such a measure. The German press announced the maternity grant to soldiers' wives with approval and with patriotic leaders. They said it was but right that the *soldier who risked his life at the front* should have his mind relieved by the assurance that his wife should have every care in her hour of trial. They said, also, that the heavy loss of human life occasioned by the war made it incumbent on the government to conserve and strengthen by all possible means the new generation. They said the soldier must be kept contented and the population must be replenished. They said a great deal more of the same tenor—to such dizzy heights can enlightened masculinity ascend!

VII

The extension of maternity insurance to the unmarried mother was due to the activity of the Bund für Mutterschutz. As usual, they

worked through statistics. They showed that the illegitimate infant has less expectation of life and the illegitimate adult a greater tendency to crime, prostitution and pauperism than any other class of citizens. It is thus that the illegitimate population avenges itself in the end on the society which has sought to banish the immorally born from the close fellowship of the legitimate population.

The untoward history of the illegitimate offspring begins in its infancy. The death-rate of babies born out of wedlock is disproportionately high. In 1905, when the mortality of legitimate babies was but 19.4 per cent., the mortality of illegitimate babies was 32.6 per cent. In 1912, there were born in Germany 183,857 illegitimate children. Of these, 41,027 died under one year of age. This was a mortality rate of 22 per cent., and, as we have already seen, the total infant mortality rate for that year was 14.7 per cent.

In Prussia, it is found that four-fifths of the legitimate infants survive the first year and only two-fifths of the illegitimate infants. In other European countries the same rule holds true. Children born out of wedlock have been subjected to murderous conditions to which society closed its eyes. The social condemna-

tion of the unmarried mother is so frightful in its unanimity that the terrified girl not infrequently prefers suicide or infanticide as a refuge. At the best, the child must be hidden away in an environment in which it cannot thrive.

The next strategic age at which to observe this sad little pilgrim's progress is at the year of compulsory military service. While one-half of all the children born reach the military year, only one-fifth of the illegitimate children are still surviving. Two-fifths of the illegitimate children survived infancy and but one-fifth lived on to reach adolescence. Those who are enrolled for military service are found to be of a measurably inferior physique. Such revelations are bound to make a military country very thoughtful as to whether the morality which exacts absolute chastity of women is worth all this sacrifice of human material.

Our next encounter with the illegitimate child is at the jail gates. Criminologists have found that small as is the number of such children surviving to reach adult life, they furnish an undue proportion of the inmates of reformatories and prisons. An investigation of a Nuremberg prison reported that 33 per cent. of the first-offense thieves and 38 per cent. of

the habitual thieves were illegitimately born. A census of all the girls in the correctional institutions of Bavaria in 1905 reported 30 per cent. of them as of illegitimate birth. Another study of nearly two thousand delinquent youths discovered that 41 per cent. of them were illegitimately born.[2] If we followed up the reports of public and private charities, we should find that illegitimacy there too was unduly represented.

VIII

In the face of such overwhelming figures, there was no very great public opposition to the extension of the maternity benefit to unmarried mothers. It was argued by some, of course, that such a step would increase immorality. Yet no one could seriously believe that the small sums squeezed out of the government in the form of maternity insurance would be any inducement to young working girls to commit maternity. The principle admitted by the extension of the insurance to the unmarried was the real crux of the matter. And there can be no doubt that this single legal detail was the first rift in the perfect, unqualified social condemnation of unmarried ma-

[2] Justice Landsberg in *Die Frau*, June, 1914.

ternity. Many anxious moralists believed that this victory of the Mutterschutz movement would soon bring a swarm of illegitimate children upon the country. But the friends of the outcast children replied that the amount of illegitimacy in Germany had been fairly steady for thirty years and more; all the frightful power of the established morality had not been sufficient to reduce it, far less to wipe it out. On the other hand, under the teachings of the old morality the artificial conditions of marriage had grown to be all important and its eugenic purpose of no account. The "illegitimate" child is the *reductio ad absurdum* of civilization.

"There is one radical method," writes one of their essayists, "which would bring our ideas back upon the right track and many a sincere friend of the cause must have already wished it,—that illegitimate births might occur right often. For rights and laws, as they are, were not revealed by an unalterable cosmic order but framed by the temporary majority. And the majority is always right—even when it is wrong! Every century has a different law and one need not be a Utopian to assume that, after so and so many decades or centuries, the idea of illegitimate motherhood hitherto cultivated

may be transformed into its exact opposite. The more illegitimate births there are to record, the nearer comes that time. In strict practice, one could not advise this radical measure, but it should at least remind the prophets in the wilderness that their morality endures but for its day. And they who to-day excite themselves will appear to-morrow to their children's children an *exemplum abstractum*. The young succeeds the old—the old morality gives way to the new."

IX

Those who prophesied ten years ago that maternity insurance and the new morality would bring a swarm of illegitimate children into the country have been amply refuted by the course of events. What the new morality has not done, however, the most ancient of all immoralities, war, has suddenly accomplished. Illegitimacy has been forced into the foreground of public attention. To-day, as always, war is the greatest known promoter of accidental breeding. But the results of accidental breeding, the children, can no longer be consigned to outer darkness and social neglect by a public opinion which has been quickened by the new morality movement of recent years.

In this crisis, the German government has had to depend on the Bund für Mutterschutz for a program. Though it has not met all the demands of this organization, it has granted a series of petitions without hesitation and shown a strong tendency to accept the advice of the one anathematized movement. The first petition was submitted and granted in August, 1914, immediately upon the outbreak of war. It concerned the unmarried mothers of children whose fathers were at the front. In all cases where the soldier's paternity had been established or admitted, the child was placed on the same footing as the legitimate child and received the same weekly support as long as the father was doing military service. The friends and protectors of such children saw to it that this order was carried into effect, and before the end of the year 1914, 1,000 illegitimate children in Leipzig alone were receiving the governmental allowance. The second petition of the Bund für Mutterschutz asked that these children should receive the same treatment in case of the father's death as the other soldiers' children. The government also granted this petition provisionally.

The magnitude and seriousness of these undertakings on the part of the state is seen in

the fact that there were one million illegitimate children under fourteen years of age in Germany at the outbreak of the war. Toward all these children whose natural fathers have been called to the front, the state has already acknowledged its responsibility, and a strong demand has grown out of this step that the state should go further and extend its care and protection to the rest of these half-parented children. In view of the strong spirit of state-socialism which characterizes modern German policy, it would not be unreasonable to expect some thorough-going collective action on the part of the state as a parent.

At this point, however, we need to remember that the successive steps towards state-supported childhood should not result in causing the individual father to fade into the background. It has been said repeatedly, and truly, concerning illegitimate children, that every means should be employed to strengthen the bond between the mother and the child. It needs also to be said that means should even be found to strengthen the bond between the father and the child. In Scandinavia, this necessity is being realized and made the subject of legislative action. The normal supplement of the highly developed maternity insur-

ance system of Germany is the newest Norwegian legislation which emphasizes the responsibilities of the individual father.

CHAPTER VI

RECLAIMING THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD IN NORWAY

I

To find the most enlightened laws concerning the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child, we must look to Scandinavia. It surely is not without significance that the native land of Ellen Key has gone ahead in this respect. The Swedish writer has said that she was better understood and more influential in Germany than in Sweden. But recent legislative advances in all three of the Scandinavian countries have put Germany decidedly in the second place as a champion of illegitimate children. To Norway must be given the credit for having produced actual constructive legislation and practical statesmanship in a field which has been too long neglected. It was Germany, as we have seen, which invented maternity insurance; but it is Norway which now stands out among the countries of modern Europe as the nation which has done the most

toward rehabilitating the unmarried mother and reclaiming the illegitimate child for society.

The disabilities of illegitimacy, so far as this overwhelming misfortune can be analyzed, may be divided into three different kinds: the poor economic outlook, anonymous paternity, and the social stigma. The last offers little chance for direct legal betterment. But the legal improvement of the first two of these handicaps is entirely feasible, and would relieve considerably the fell action of the social stigma.

Besides, the history of illegitimacy in the past shows that it has not been uniformly stigmatized by the social orders of yesterday and the day before and teaches one to believe that it will not be uniformly stigmatized by the social orders of to-morrow and the day after. For instance, according to the ancient Swedish law, there were two degrees of illegitimacy, the child of a slave woman being even lower than the child of a free woman. But the introduction of Christianity brought the freedom of the slaves and placed all illegitimate children on the same footing, a footing which was, however, lower than slavery itself. The illegitimately born could not belong to a trade guild

or become a minister. In time, these disabilities were removed but the social stigma persisted with undiminished power. The illegitimate child was branded by the church as the "fruit of sin" and was condemned from his birth to be a member of an unclean caste. From the point of view of modern ethics this identification of the child with the "sin" of his parents becomes increasingly unjustifiable. It is not ethical to visit upon the child the punishment for the fault of others; and if it is not ethical, we certainly cannot admit that it is inevitable. The inevitability of injustice does not accord with post-Christian ethics, which depart still farther from fatalism than the Christian view of life.

A survey of the condition of the illegitimate children of Norway showed that the work of reclaiming them was very much needed. Aside from sentimentality, aside even from the value or worthlessness of the "new morality," here was a social disorder of the most incriminating sort, a condition of misrule which challenged the government. In Norway there are born on an average every year about 5,000 illegitimate children: 3,000 in the country districts and about 2,000 in the cities. These children form 7 per cent. of the total number of children born

each year. The percentage is slightly lower than the percentage of illegitimacy in Germany. Norway also, as we have seen, has a lower infant mortality than Germany and in this respect has long served as a model to the other European countries. The condition of its illegitimate children, on the other hand, has been extremely open to criticism.

During the last twenty years, while the total infant mortality rate has been falling, the mortality of illegitimate children has been increasing. This peculiarity extends to the other Scandinavian states as well, Sweden and Denmark. In Denmark, the illegitimate infant deaths are 213 per cent. of the legitimate deaths; in Norway, they are 199 per cent.; and in Sweden, they are 178 per cent. In the different German states, the illegitimate infant deaths vary from 138 per cent. to 154 per cent. of the legitimate deaths, except in Prussia, where it rises to 187 per cent.

In the capital of Norway, Christiania, the mortality statistics for the years 1901-1905 showed that 20 per thousand of legitimate infants died of intestinal disorders in the first year of life and 64 per thousand of illegitimate infants. The meaning of these figures is that the child of the unmarried mother is more often

deprived of its natural nourishment and is therefore more subject to death as the indirect result of artificial feeding. A confirmation of this interpretation is found in the records of the Christiania health authorities, which show that within a period of ten years the number of children boarded out with, or given away to, foster parents has increased from 680 to 1,296. Furthermore, the vital statistics show that the illegitimate babies die more frequently in the second month than the first and more frequently in the third than in the second. From these statistics, it is evident that the chief cause of death of these children is defective nutrition and the chief cause of the defective nutrition is simply that the mother is compelled to "put the child away" with strangers.

It is not strange that these tell-tale figures became quite unbearable to Norwegian social reformers. The wholesale sacrifice of infant life presented itself as a social injustice in comparison with which the private morality of the children's parents sank into a place of minor importance. The problem of securing justice for illegitimate children became more and more a burning public question, and in the year 1909 it was made the subject of governmental discussion.

II

In that year a bill was laid before the Norwegian Storthing whose simple but revolutionary intention was to give *every* child *two* parents. It aimed to equalize illegitimate children and legitimate children before the law, that is, to give the illegitimate child the right to a father. Such a bill could not be expected to go through at once or without controversy. At the beginning of the European war the bill was still pending, though it had already been made the subject of such widespread discussion that its terms were well incorporated in the public thought and the sociological literature of the Germanic and Scandinavian countries. In the spring of 1915 it came up for the final reading in the Storthing and was adopted as a law.

The real father of the bill is the former Minister of Justice of Norway, Johan Castberg. It was framed by the Department of Justice with great care and deliberation and only reached the Storthing when it had attained a form of which the sponsors could say, "Here we take our stand; we can do no other." The Department of Justice had the assistance of two women experts in the preparation of the

draft. They were Fru Regina Kloumann of Christiania, supervisor of the city's placed-out children for the Health Department, and Fru Martha Thynäs, Prefect's Assistant in Christiania.

The draft of the bill was submitted in advance to the women's clubs and organizations of Norway, to the various charitable organizations, and the various labor organizations. It was indorsed by the National Women's Council of Norway, by the women's division of the Labor movement, and by the Labor Party of Norway. The support of the Labor movement, of the men as well as of the women, is due to the fact that the cause of the unmarried mother is also a working-class cause to a great extent. The deserted unmarried mother usually belongs to the poorer classes, and her economic misery adds to the sum total of poverty and aggravates the existing economic inequality which the Labor movement is seeking to remove. This is, of course, only one of the many instances in which the interests of the possessionless sex and the possessionless class tend to coincide.

The Castberg document was intentionally so framed as to avoid the use of the phrase "illegitimate child." According to its title, it

is a "Law Concerning Children Whose Parents Have Not Married Each Other." Another peculiarity of phrasing which likewise expresses the innermost intention of the bill is the frequent use of the word "impregnation" in places where the word "conception" has been usually employed in similar discussions. Its principal propositions are summarized in the following paragraphs.

A child whose parents have not married each other has a right to the surname of the father.

The child is entitled to demand from his parents support and education in accordance with the financial circumstances of the one who is economically the better situated of the two. The parent with whom the child does not live discharges his obligations by paying a sum of money, the amount to be fixed by the court. In general, the child is entitled to receive from his father and mother the same kind of support as if he were a legitimate child.

The amount to be paid by the parent with whom the child does not live, or by both parents in case the child lives with neither but with some other person, shall be fixed by the authority designated for that purpose. The cost of the child's education shall fall so far as possible on both parents. If one of them dies

without leaving any property, the other must assume the full responsibility. Also, if one of the parents is unable to pay his share and the other is in a position to bear the whole expense, the latter may be required to do so.

The child is entitled to support and education until the age of sixteen. However, the authority may extend this period if he is mentally or physically incompetent, or if there is reason for continuing the child's education and the parents are able to afford it.

The father is required to pay the expenses of the mother's confinement. This is also obligatory in the case of a still-birth. The father is further required to maintain the mother, if, by reason of pregnancy or confinement, she is compelled to give up her work. She is entitled to this maintenance only during three months of pregnancy and six weeks following confinement. But if the mother keeps the child with her and nurses it for nine months, the support may be continued for this length of time.

In case it is not possible to determine who is the father of the child, the foregoing parental obligations shall rest upon the person who has had sex intercourse with the mother at such a time that in the course of nature he may be the father of her child. If it happens that sev-

eral persons answer to this definition, then each of them must contribute to the child's support, the amount paid by each to be determined by the authority prescribed. The same *pro rata* rule applies to the payment of the mother's confinement expenses.

The court has full power to clear up doubtful paternity by inquiry and the summoning of the necessary evidence. If the man whom the mother has named as the father is found to have had sex intercourse with her at the probable time of the impregnation and if there is no reason to suppose that any other man has had sex intercourse with her during this period, the court may declare the man to be the father. If the court continues in doubt of the actual paternity of the child, the man is still held responsible for the child's support.

In all those cases in which actual paternity has been established and the court's final decision to that effect has been made, the child whose parents have not married each other has exactly the same rights of inheritance as the legitimate child.

III

This is the gist of the Castberg bill, the most rational and thoroughgoing attack on the

double standard of morals known in modern legislation. A lengthy memorandum accompanied the draft, in which all of the most familiar objections were considered and answered by the Department of Justice. We cannot do better than review these objections, along with the arguments which were given in reply. A certain Socratic flavor is not wholly lacking in the Castberg document, which reminds one of an ethical discussion rather than a legislative enactment.

The law will encourage the formation of loose unions. As far as the man is concerned, this can scarcely be the case. If he is aware that his possible child, though born out of wedlock, can assert all of the rights of a legitimate child toward its father, that knowledge will certainly be a reason for refraining from a union with a woman whom he would be unwilling to marry. As far as the woman is concerned, the law does not favor her personally, only in as much as the child's welfare depends upon her during pregnancy and lactation. Aside from this, her responsibilities are much heavier than those of the married mother, because she is required by the law to contribute to the child's support and to share the economic responsibility which in legal marriage is

laid upon the father alone. The whole tenor of the law is to assert the rights of the child toward its mother as well as toward its father. Nowhere does it even suggest that the woman in the case is entitled to seduction damages.

The law will undermine legal marriage. "The Department does not see," says the Norwegian statesman bitingly, "that the equalization of illegitimate and legitimate children with respect to the inheritance laws will lessen the general respect for marriage. The Department therefore regards it as superfluous to discuss the question whether it would be just, out of respect for the marriage institution, to uphold a legal system which is directly unjust to illegitimate children. If the law really aimed to protect the marriage institution, then it is inconsistent to give to the father the privilege of acknowledging an illegitimate child and thus placing it in the same legal position as that of his legitimate children. For then he may, at his own pleasure and by his own act, break down the state's protection of the marriage institution."

The extension of the inheritance rights to illegitimate children will increase immorality. The present inheritance laws, says Minister Castberg, contribute directly to the increase of

immorality, inasmuch as they compel a man to conceal from his wife and children the fact that he has an illegitimate child. He is therefore tempted to deny and neglect his own offspring and to lie to those who are nearest him. He is prevented from doing his duty to all his children equally, while his conscience and the accepted moral customs teach him that such conduct is blameworthy. Consideration for everybody concerned urges that the truth should be known in a situation in which hitherto lies have been the rule. It will serve to awaken a greater feeling of parental responsibility on the father's side, to lessen his tendency toward casual and transient unions, and to prevent the promises of marriage which he has no intention of fulfilling.

It is difficult and sometimes impossible to prove paternity. Regarding this point, the sponsors of the bill have a great deal to say. In the first place, it is *not* so difficult from the legal point of view, as the defenders of anonymous paternity like to say it is. The steps which have hitherto been taken on behalf of illegitimate children toward clearing up paternity have largely been furthered by members of the legal profession. Past experience has not taught the Department of Justice, says

Castberg, that it is impossible to establish paternity by a legal inquiry. Furthermore, insofar as this objection states a truth, it applies to children born within marriage as well as those born outside of it. Legitimate fatherhood rests upon belief and conviction. Moreover, the present law is willing to accept the written or oral statement of a man that he is the actual father of an illegitimate child and to give the child at his request all of the rights of a legitimate child toward him. These are legal precedents which only need to be extended to the whole class of children born outside of marriage.

Already in Norway, forty per cent. of the illegitimate children receive support from their fathers. In all these cases, paternity had to be established if it was not willingly acknowledged. It has been the experience of the courts in former years that the word of the mother under oath is usually a dependable and reliable part of the proof. The very small number of proceedings for damages on the part of men falsely accused of paternity proves this. The law proceeds, then, upon the assumption that the mother is usually in a position to make a correct assignment of paternity, and that her tendency in the past has been rather to sup-

press this knowledge than to make a false assignment. For the rest, the proposed law requires her to give her oath, and makes her liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment, as well as a suit for damages by the man, if she makes a false accusation.

Finally, anonymous paternity is an offense against the child and against the state. The child has a right to know who his father is, a right to be supported by his father, and a right to inherit from his father if the latter is a man of property. Therefore the mother should not be permitted, by concealing the child's paternity, to connive at its disinheritance. The state has the obligation to inquire officially into the circumstances of the child's birth and to protect him against one of the greatest cruelties to which childhood can be exposed, the suffering which comes from not knowing its parentage.

So far from affirming the notorious principle of the Code Napoleon that the inquiry concerning paternity is *forbidden,* the proposed Norwegian code declares that the inquiry concerning paternity is *compulsory.*

IV

If we select, now, from the Norwegian code those propositions which are based on justice rather than precedent we are faced by the following bold innovations:

The illegitimate child has a right to his father's surname. The law, however, expressly states that the child is not compelled to assume the father's name. There is no legal stipulation in Norway concerning the naming of legitimate children. Hence, the meaning of the new law is simply that, insofar as the latter bear the family name of the father, the illegitimate child shall have the same right in vindication of the principle that he belongs to the father's family as well as to the mother's, and possesses inheritance rights toward both.

The state, and not the mother, mediates between the child and its father. Hitherto the law has required the mother to take the responsibility of summoning the father to court and instituting proceedings for support. Thus the child's future depended upon the initiative of the mother, who was likely to be prevented by ignorance or inexperience, or by the mental shame and physical distress incidental to her condition, from taking any action on the in-

fant's behalf. Moreover, it is not in human nature to pass so swiftly from the relation of indulgent mistress to that of public prosecutor.

"When they know men they know the state of war:
But now they dream like sunlight on a sea."

From her own point of view, the law which invites her to move against the father incites her to an act of revenge. And if she fails to call the man to account, her neglect may be due to the most pardonable of motives. On the other hand, the state is the sponsor of the child, from whom the action in the case should really proceed. The question at stake is that of nurture for the helpless young thing and not of support for the mother.

The mother must contribute to the child's support. This detail is in line with the most fundamental of feminist demands. It recognizes the position of women as wage-earners in the economic world and assumes their economic independence. So much for the principle. In actual point of fact, the earnings of the mother are usually much smaller than those of the father and this must be taken into consideration in fixing the amount to be contributed by each parent. The majority of the Norwegian women's clubs spoke for placing the father's

share as more than half, but they did not believe that he should pay all. The highest proportion suggested was two-thirds to three-fourths. The prevailing rule in the Danish law is for the father to pay three-fifths of the child's support.

The man of property may not disinherit his illegitimate child. This is the crux of the new law and it is easy to see why it should be so. Long ago it became legal in Norway for an illegitimate child to inherit from its mother and its mother's family. There was little objection to this reform, because the mother seldom had anything to bequeath and the law had little effect on existing conditions. But the effect of the change just introduced may be considerable. And not the least part of this effect will be the impossibility of concealing the existence of a legal heir from the other legal heirs of the same man.

This is the most revolutionary change in the Norwegian inheritance laws since 1854, when the admission of daughters to equal inheritance rights with sons was accomplished. No doubt it was then prophesied that the change would destroy the family and wreck the home, just as there are now those in Norway who believe that to increase the number of legal inheritors

by seven per cent. will bring an increase in the amount of illegitimacy.

The defense of "exceptio plurium" is not allowed. This detail of the law is, by comparison with the laws of the European countries outside of Scandinavia, almost as radical as the inheritance proposition. But the "exceptio plurium" has already been ruled out of the Swedish and Danish laws where it is only a question of support and not of inheritance.

In the opening scene of *The Father,* written by the Swedish dramatist Strindberg, we have a good illustration of the "exceptio plurium" at work. The episode takes place in the Cavalry Captain's parlor and the dialogue is carried on by the Captain, the Pastor, and a Trooper who has been called in to answer the charge of illegitimate paternity. Nojd, as the Trooper is called, does not deny that he might be the father of the maid Emma's child. On the contrary, he describes the hilarious and unloosed occasion on which he and Emma together had succumbed to temptation. "Of course the girl was willing. If she isn't, nothing ever comes of it," and "Of course he told Emma that he would marry her. One always has to say that." But after all, the Trooper doesn't feel sure that the child is his, because

how does one know that Emma did not, on some other occasion perhaps, with his fellow-trooper Ludwig? . . . In short, you never can tell who the father is. Both the Captain and the Pastor find the Trooper's mode of reasoning perfectly convincing. "For, just think if he were not the father," says the Pastor. All three men are fully agreed that "to slave all one's life for another man's child isn't very pleasant," and so Nojd is dismissed.

The Trooper's rejoinder, "There were others," is what the law calls the "exceptio plurium." It still prevails in the German law. If the father can prove that the mother had intercourse with other men beside himself at the time of the impregnation, he is released from all obligation to contribute to the child's support. Under the Scandinavian law, the only defense allowed is that the man had *no* sexual intercourse with the mother during a period extending from 302 to 180 days before her confinement. If the contrary is true, he becomes responsible for the child's support, which he may bear alone or in partnership with the other men who are also adjudged to be possible fathers. Where the court finds it necessary to assign possible paternity to several fathers, the law does not plan to extend the inheritance

right to the child, whose claims will then be limited to support. To prevent this situation it is therefore incumbent upon the court to use all possible means in its power to ascertain the actual father in each case. If a considerable inheritance is at stake, the necessity for thorough investigation is all the more apparent.

V

The force of the example of the Norwegian bill is evidenced by many recent legislative changes relating to illegitimacy in other continental countries. France at last proceeded to action in 1913 regarding the famous Napoleonic edict, "La recherche de la paternité est interdite." It was quietly and ingloriously expunged in that year, and there were no doubt many who believed that an era of blackmail would ensue as soon as the investigation of paternity was permitted. The history of Alsace-Lorraine, following its transference to Germany in 1871, showed no increase in blackmail but a decrease of illegitimacy. "The revocation of the Code and the introduction of the duty of support in Alsace," writes Henriette Fürth, "resulted in a diminution of the frequence of illegitimate births,—a phenomenon which moreover cannot astonish the psy-

chologist, because he recognizes in it the influence of the new law which laid a greater material responsibility on the illegitimate father. The fear of the obligation to support the offspring produces here a welcome inhibition of the masculine sex impulse."

In 1914, following the declaration of war, Austria introduced a number of reforms concerning illegitimacy. The changes made fall so far behind the reforms of Norway that we need not recount them here. They serve to demonstrate, however, the general awakening in the European countries to the necessity of action in this field. The removal of one particular sentence from the Austrian code-book was heralded by the feminist press as a belated reform in the same class as the French concession of the preceding year. "Illegitimate children are excluded in general from family and relationship rights," was the sentence which, dating from 1811, had resisted the most determined feminist attacks. The disappearance of that sentence dates from the year in which terrific war losses had taught the government to consider the necessity of preserving the new generation even to the last and meanest member.

In Germany the movement to improve the

condition of illegitimate children has gained a fresh impetus from the Norwegian successes. The feminists say that the "exceptio plurium" in this country must go. Justice Landsberg writes in *Die Frau,* "Those who have sex intercourse outside of marriage know what the consequences may be and deserve to share in those consequences. It is a matter of taking risks. Society can demand not only that every *proved* case of blood-relationship shall be recognized by support and education, but that every individual who is a party to an action which may result in the need for help should share according to his abilities in giving the help needed. Propagation outside of marriage is no *crime.* It is, however, an action at one's own risk and with full knowledge of the consequences. It therefore contradicts, in no respect, the old principles of our law, if each of the parties is made answerable for the full consequences. . . . By doing away with the 'exceptio plurium' most of the cases of contested support will vanish. Nothing will then be possible but the simple denial of sex intercourse, and this denial cannot ever be absolutely banished. The oath of the mother becomes all the more trustworthy if she is not entitled to support from the father."

If we turn now to England and the United States, we find that the condition of the laws concerning illegitimacy reflect the Anglo-Saxon habit of mind which ignores all social problems arising from the sex relation. The last revision of the English Bastardy Acts was undertaken in 1873, and the English laws concerning illegitimacy still aim primarily to legislate the illegitimate child out of society. According to these laws, he is a predestined social pariah. He cannot inherit from his father, and he also cannot inherit from his mother, though the latter is required to support him until his sixteenth year, and may demand a very limited allowance from the father. Neither parent can, by publicly acknowledging the child, give it inheritance rights; nor is the child legitimatized by the marriage of its parents subsequent to its birth. From this brief outline, it will be seen that the demand for a revision of the illegitimacy laws which have made themselves heard in England for the first time since the "war baby" question arose, are based on a consideration of the backwardness of English legislation in comparison with Germanic and Scandinavian legislation on this subject.

In the United States, the laws concerning

illegitimacy were originally derived from the English code and in most of the country exhibit the same backwardness. Yet many of the statutes have subsequently modified their terms so that they represent a nearer approach to justice than the prevailing English law of the present.

VI

There was once a time in humanity's far distant past when it was not known that children had fathers. The fact of paternity was a comparatively late discovery. In his work on *Primitive Paternity* Mr. E. S. Hartland tells us: "For generations and æons the truth that a child is only born in consequence of an act of sexual union, that the birth of a child is the natural consequence of such an act performed in favoring circumstances, and that every child must be the result of such an act and of no other cause, was not realized by mankind." An inexhaustible number of myths and fables exist to show that childbirth was attributed to the most fantastic sources before the sole natural cause was discovered.

In the Hartland collection, a common version attributes pregnancy to eating and drinking. There is a Hottentot legend of a young

girl who ate a piece of grass and bore a hero. The founder of the Chinese Empire was the child of a virgin who ate a certain flower which she found on her garment after bathing. A young girl of the Pueblo Indians in America became pregnant from eating two piñon nuts. Another lady—she was an Egyptian—stood by while a tree was being cut down; a splinter flew into her mouth and she had a child. Hundreds of legends are extant telling how women were fertilized by the rainfall, by sunshine, or by bathing in a stream.

Legends of virgin births are still current among remote tribes in a low state of civilization, and even in modern civilized countries, the fables die hard.

The second stage in the development of the paternity idea was ushered in by the discovery of physical fatherhood. This eventually led to the establishment of the institution of marriage, and this in turn to the division of all children into two kinds: legitimate and illegitimate. The former were the children who had fathers, and the latter were the children who had none. At this stage of development, society now rests. The next stage, however, as the Norwegian reforms show us, is not very far off. And when that era has been gradually in-

troduced by the spread of the Norwegian idea, all children will have fathers. The social annunciation of paternity will then be complete.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC RENAISSANCE OF THE GERMAN WOMEN

I

The industry of the German women is one of the chief orientating facts about the civilization of that country. There is no doubt that they represent a more hard-working strain than the American woman. In this country, certain historical and social conditions have contributed especially to sanction the ideal—however obviously it failed to work out in practice—that women should compose the leisure class. One such influence was the institution of slavery which, persisting up until fifty years ago, created a social system in which idleness was a cult. The first generation of Southern women who had to do their own housework suffered keenly from a sense of degradation. Another such influence has arisen from the fact that one is not born in this country to any particular station in life but one belongs to that

circle whose conventions one keeps. It is an iron-bound convention of the great middle-classocracy that the wife shall not earn, though she may, in the East, the West, and even in the South at present, do her own housework without losing caste. Neither does the German wife of the middle classes go out to earn as a rule, but the question whether she works or not is not so much determined by respect for convention. In short, the German women have not been taught by slavery to despise domestic work or counseled by social ambition to cultivate an appearance of leisure. There is a greater tendency among them to respect work in any form and to wear openly the marks of an occupation.

To the Teuton women has been handed down an almost unbroken tradition of work. They have always worked, whether they were paid for it or not. From the days when Tacitus reported that the free German "respects no activity except that of the sword. In peace he lies indolently on the bearskin; sleep, drink, and dice occupy his time. The care of the field, the house, and the hearth is left to the women, who, together with the children, the weak, and the enslaved, carry on the housekeeping,"—down to the present industrial age

they have contributed their unrecognized labors to the sum of the nation's effort. In their homes, in the cloisters, in the workshops they have never ceased to work and produce. Even the prostitutes, who followed the medieval armies, washed and cooked and served the soldiers.

But so long as the greater part of women's labor was performed in the unillumined domestic background of society no one took any note of it. Everybody knew that the domestic female army was indispensable, but nobody knew what this invaluable contribution was worth. The law declared that the wife's services belonged to her husband and every man believed in his own divine right to domestic service. But how to estimate the value of these services individually or collectively was an unfathomed mystery, and it still is. As long as the wife works for her husband, or the daughter for her father, she does not figure in the industrial studies of the country. It is only when she begins to work for a third party that she comes face to face with wages for the first time, and the statistical experts begin to enroll her as a woman with an occupation. The number of women so enrolled by the German Census has increased during recent years at a

phenomenal rate. The figures show that, among the unmarried women, wage-earning has almost entirely supplanted father-serving, and even among the married women, wage-earning has begun to make inroads into husband-serving.

The German industrial census of 1907, found that there were 9,490,000 women wage-earners in the country. They were represented in all of the 207 occupations listed except military service. In 25 occupations, they formed the majority. These numbers showed an enormous increase over the censuses of 1895 and 1882. In 1882 the census reported 4,408,000 women wage-earners. This rose to 5,293,000 in 1895. Between 1882 and 1907 the number of women wage-earners has doubled itself. Of Germany's thirty-one million women, one fourth are at work. We are accustomed in this country to consider the number of women workers as very impressive, but they amount only to one-seventh of the female population as compared with the wage-earning quarter of the German women.

The exodus of the unmarried women from the home is almost complete. Out of a total of 6,620,000 unmarried women over sixteen, 5,710,000 are wage-earners. Less than a mil-

lion are unemployed. Helene Lange points out that this remainder also includes the girls over sixteen who are in training for an occupation and estimates that only about 700,000 girls still live at home in the old dependent relation. If we now consider the fact brought out by Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne and other investigators that the age of marriage for both sexes has been steadily increasing, we see how great must be the bulk of the work of the unmarried German women. While waiting for marriage, they work; their wage-earning years are prolonged by the receding age of marriage; and finally there are 900,000 superfluous women in Germany, for whom marriage cannot come into question. The sum total of all this labor is far from negligible.

II

Only the exodus from the home is new. We have to do with an economic renaissance harking back, as we have said, to the very beginnings of German society. In the middle ages, especially, women were prominent in the economic scheme. The records show that they were not excluded from any occupation. Spinning and weaving were almost exclusively women's work. Handicrafts were carried on

with great expertness in the medieval cloisters, an environment in which women found careers as well as a religious retreat. They also followed the intellectual occupations, as documents still in existence show. There were women physicians in Frankfurt am Main in the fifteenth century, women were members of the guilds, and there were some guilds composed entirely of women, with master-craftswomen at the head and girl apprentices. They were active as silk-spinners and silk-weavers, yarn-spinners, gold-spinners, hat-makers and embroiderers; in short, they were quite generally engaged in the highly-skilled production of apparel and tapestries of all kinds.

In the fourteenth century the guilds began to exclude women and to limit their work. They discovered that there was an old rule which declared that only those persons could be members who were able to bear arms. This same argument, moldy and musty from the Middle Ages, has been revived in the twentieth century for use against the suffragists. For more than half a millennium it has been the only tangible reason given for the disfranchisement of women. And that it has seldom been used sincerely is shown by the fact that it was usually presented as an after-thought, a post-

script justification of the arbitrary act. At any rate, the medieval guilds of Germany, for the most part, did not take the trouble to justify the decisions by which women were deprived at one stroke of the right to work and the right to vote.

The terms in which the resolutions were drafted show that no attempt was made to conceal the purely competitive and egoistic spirit of the male workers. Frau Becker quotes a series of these guild utterances in her book on the German woman's movement. One of the orders ran, "Female work by day or night is forbidden under penalty of a fine of two pounds of wax." [1] A guild of hat-makers declared that "their office belonged to the man and that no woman or maid should dare to practice their office under threat of a two-mark fine." In another decree, the seamstresses were put in their place. "The seamstresses of Constance, now and forever, shall only sew linen and cloth, and nothing else, neither woolens nor furs."

So ran the series of drastic decrees by which women were banished from the guilds and deprived of their means of livelihood. And all

[1] Wax was legal tender for fines and tithes in the Middle Ages.

the while prostitution was increasing by leaps and bounds, so much so that the Church and the towns built "repentant Magdalene" homes as the best method they could think of for checking the overwhelming evil. It is recorded that one such asylum which was established at the end of the fourteenth century in Paris adopted statutes which sought expressly to prevent that girls should become debauched in order to obtain admission to this home.[2]

The attitude of the guilds toward the women at this critical period was a compound of economic jealousy and sex-contempt. Their most effective weapon was the social stigma which was heaped upon the man who consented to work with women. Lily Braun tells us: "The man considered it beneath his dignity to work beside a woman. The tailors' union and the belt-makers' union as well as the Nuremberg purse-makers' union expressly forbade the journeyman to do so. The journeyman book-binders of Nuremberg declared the man who worked with a woman to be dishonorable; and the rules which were at first only the decisions of the guilds and trade-unions were finally incorporated in the decrees and orders of the land. They not only forbade women to work

[2] *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*, Vol. III, p. 11.

in the guilds but they also regarded it as a disgrace, inasmuch as they called the men dishonest who worked with women. By the end of the seventeenth century, women had been wholly crowded out of the handicraft guilds and everywhere the male sex had been made the condition of admission. Thus the enemy seemed to be conquered, whereas in fact the death hour of the guilds had struck and the enemy had but withdrawn into the background to undermine still further the golden foundation of handicraft work." [8]

The laws excluding women from the guilds were not revoked until 1869, when Germany was on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war. By this time the guild-system was a thing of the past, and the industrial revolution had altered the economic outlines of Germany even more completely than the war with France was destined to alter its political outlines.

The era of machine production began with the invention of the spinning-jenny in 1764. Until then spinning had been exclusively a woman's occupation. "When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?" The spinning-wheel was the woman's tool and the unmarried woman was simply named for

[8] *Die Frauenfrage*, p. 49.

her invariable occupation, spinster. The abandonment of the spinning-wheel stands out as the great divide in the history of woman and production. Within a hundred years after the English Hargreaves had launched his invention, this abandonment was nearly complete in Germany as well as in England. An investigator, reporting on the conditions in Silesia in the sixties, wrote: "It is said of course that an industrious spinster can still bring her earnings up to a silver groschen a day, but in fact six pfennigs would be the day's earnings. Soon the children will no longer learn this breadless art and the spinning wheels will be left to the dust of the attic. Machine-spun yarn has completely driven hand-spun yarn from the field." [4] And Dr. Rose Otto tells us that even as far back as the forties, a whole family, by sitting at the spinning-wheel day and night, could not maintain themselves.

The outcome was that father and children, and often the mother too, hired out to the owner of the factory. The women were forced out of their homes by the ruin of domestic handwork, the low wages of the men, and the demand of the capitalist employer for cheap la-

[4] Quoted by Rose Otto in *Fabrikarbeit Verheirateter Frauen*, p. 74.

bor. They were, after all, only following their immemorial trade in a new guise and a new environment. The arrival of the war years, 1870 and 1871, following close upon the arrival of the factories was another event which compelled women to earn in still larger numbers. Having once begun to earn, many of them continued after peace had been restored. Ruined homes and fortunes, lost and crippled husbands and fathers, left many a woman no choice but to take up the bread-winner's burden.

III

With the trend of women to the factories the woman question was born. This concentration of production created a growing class of women whose income could be measured. The factory which enslaved them endowed them with a new independence in relation to the family. It struck at the roots of the patriarchal home. In time a law was passed allowing the wife to control her own earnings, and this further loosened the patriarchal bond. The present German law gives the husband the right to forbid his wife to work for others if he considers that the home is being neglected, but at least he may not collect her wages and spend them for his own purposes.

Thus industry brought with it a slight relief from male domination, and in this respect it furthered the cause of women's solidarity. But it also brought the factor of capitalistic domination which had just the contrary effect. From the resulting economic inequality arose the strong class prejudice which divided woman from woman. Between the soft-handed and hard-handed woman a gulf of misunderstanding opened up and forced the development of the feminist movement into two separate channels: the woman's movement (Frauenbewegung) and the working-woman's movement (Arbeiterinnen-Bewegung). Sometimes converging, sometimes diverging, they have continued as separate movements down to the present time.

The first German woman to advance the idea of the economic emancipation of her sex was Luise Otto. She began in 1848 to publish articles defending the seamstresses against the persecution of the tailors, who had the right under the old guild laws to cause the seamstress's house to be searched and the results of her forbidden work to be confiscated. Together with Auguste Schmidt, she founded the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauen Verein in 1865. This organization has concentrated

from the beginning upon the ideal of the economic independence of women.

"The only emancipation which we demand for our women is the emancipation of their work," said Luise Otto. "Our only demand is that the arena of work shall be opened to women," said Auguste Schmidt. And the credo of the new-born woman's movement declared that, "Work is a duty and an honor, for the man as for the woman." This was outspoken feminism. And as a further confirmation of the feministic character of the new organization, it was decided to exclude men entirely from its ranks. It was felt that, in the beginning at any rate, women must work out their own salvation.

While the new Frauenverein was spreading the idea of the economic independence of women by its organization and by means of its magazine, Neue Bahnen (New Paths), another society, by no means feministic in its origin, was doing much toward the practical realization of the idea. The Lette-Verein was founded in Berlin in 1866, immediately after the woman's rights movement had been born in Leipzig. It was a purely vocational movement and its platform was sufficiently reactionary in its sentiments to allay opposition at once.

"What we do *not* want," wrote President Lette, underscoring, the "not," "and what we never wish and intend, not even in the most distant century, is the political emancipation and equality of women."

In order to prevent any developments in the Lette-Verein along the line of women's rights, the directorship of the society was placed in the hands of men, while women were only allowed to act in an advisory capacity. But established though it was on a benevolent patriarchal basis and totally lacking in all feministic principles, the Lette-Verein nevertheless proceeded to do a very important work for the feminist cause in Germany. In time the original enmity between the Lette-Verein and the woman's rights movement faded somewhat in the background. The rival societies forgot their theoretical differences in the pursuit of a common practical aim.

Indeed, the day had come when the idle-handed daughters of the middle-class had got to go to work. It became increasingly impossible for the father's salary to keep the family and increasingly necessary for unmarried women to earn their bread. But only two occupations were open to them; they all had to become governesses or seamstresses. These

occupations were so overrun and competition was so keen that the situation forced itself on public attention and cried out for relief. The vocational reforms of the Lette-Verein were the first constructive aid given to the untrained and penniless middle-class woman. President Lette suggested that women should be employed in a number of new occupations and established a vocational institute in which they could be trained. His list included medical and surgical occupations, midwifery, and nursing; painting, sculpture, the preparation of models, copper and wood engraving, lithographing, and pattern-making; the preparation of chemical, microscopic, and optical objects; telegraph and telephone operating and railway ticket-selling; book-keeping, salesmanship, library work; shoemaking, tailoring, printing and book-binding.

The training given in the Berlin Lette-Verein served as an example for private vocational schools for women in other cities and set a high standard for the eventual state and municipal institutions. As printers, book-binders, laboratory-assistants, and photographers, the graduates of the Lette-Verein have a deservedly high standing. When we hear to-day of a highly regarded firm of women printers en-

gaged in the publication of scientific books, of the organized activities of the women photographers, and of the indispensable activities of the Röntgen-ray nurses with the German army, we may trace these things directly to the educational influence of the Lette-Verein.

Another German institution which, like the Lette-Verein, was closely allied with the feminist movement on the economic side was the Froebel Kindergarten. Incredible though it seems, Froebel began by training young men as kindergartners. It was not until after some years that the idea occurred to him that Kindergarten teachers should be women. Thoroughly converted by his own discovery, however, he issued an appeal in 1840 to the women of Germany to support the Kindergarten movement and learn its methods. Women responded warmly with interest and support, and many young women found a congenial occupation in the new Kindergarten. When the Prussian government, therefore, decided that the Froebel schools were centers of destructive enlightenment and closed them all by an arbitrary decree in 1851, it threw many women out of employment. It was not until after years of agitation by women's organizations formed for that purpose that the government was

brought to repeal the anti-Kindergarten law. The re-opening of the Kindergartens in the sixties helped to relieve the intense worklessness of the middle-class women of that period.

IV

To the American feminist, the 1907 statistics of women's occupations in Germany offer many interesting points of comparison. The extensive employment of women in agriculture and domestic service is in accordance with a tradition for which we have no parallel in this country, and which alone proves that the German nation, child and man, has always been nourished by its women. Other occupations which are largely women's occupations and which have arisen from the modern industrial régime as opposed to the ancient domestic régime are: industry, or the manufacturing pursuits; the commercial employments; and telephone and telegraph operating, which are classed as branches of the civil service.

The number of women engaged in agriculture in Germany is 4,600,000. This is the largest group of women engaged in any occupation, and twice as many as were engaged in agriculture in the year 1895, when the last industrial census was taken. The increasing

bulk of women's labor on the farms is mainly due to the migration of the men to the cities and industrial centers. Long before the men were called away to war they were called away to industry, and the women were left behind to till the farms.

The conditions surrounding their work were of the worst, yet they were the last to receive the benefits of state-insurance and they are still the most poorly provided for of all the insured classes. Feminist and suffragist writers who have studied conditions among the peasant population have pointed out that in this *niveau* the old subjection of women lingers longest and most stubbornly. Even the law which allows the wife to control her own earnings is easily disregarded here. Consequently, the peasant girls who awake to the disadvantages of their position follow their brothers to the city to seek the comparative freedom of factory labor.

An author quoted by Eliza Ichenhäuser says:

> It is the powerful and purely psychological charm of freedom which here finds its expression. The middle ages could suffer it that, in the business houses of the cities for generations the family community remained in existence; that cousins, sisters-in-law

and mothers-in-law lived together under the same roof. To-day we strive each for a single hearth; we yearn for the bread self-earned among strangers, away from the table of the parental home and the circle of relatives; and the difficulty of the situation is that the development of the common conditions of life denies us this longed-for economic independence until a later and later period.

The domestic servant problem of Germany is peculiarly a woman's problem. There are more than a million women engaged in domestic service and they constitute practically the whole, that is, 99 per cent., of this occupational group. Unlike the agricultural workers, their numbers have not increased but have decreased by 50 per cent. since the last industrial census. Apparently, Germany, like America, may look forward to a steady diminution of the servant class. The withdrawal of the workers will perhaps in time compel the government to erase the feudal stamp from domestic service. At present the servant is subject to a special law, the "Gesinde-Ordnung," which deprives her of all rights towards her employer and preserves an old feudal relation which every other occupation has lost. The woman movement and the labor movement constantly agitate for the repeal of this law and for the placing of

domestic labor on the same legal footing as all other occupations.

After agriculture, industry employs the next largest group of women workers in Germany. The industrial group totals 2,103,924. Of this number, a million and a half are subordinate factory workers. They form the most class-conscious group of women workers, not only in Germany but in the world. From their ranks have come forth the women labor leaders and organizers who play such an able part in Germany's social and economic problems today.

In business and transportation, including telephone and telegraph operators, office assistants and saleswomen, hotel and restaurant service, there are 900,000 women.

This is a fast-growing group of wage-earners and recruits itself largely from the middle-class homes. Until recently, these young women have had no preparation for their work beyond that to be gained in private business schools, most of which are the kind which give "cram-courses" for a high price. Side by side with this condition, Germany has maintained for years free commercial schools for young men which are the accepted models for all other

countries. Thanks to the continuous agitation of the feminist movement, tardy steps have at last been taken in the direction of opening municipal business schools for women equal in grade to the schools for men.

The Imperial postal, telephone, and telegraph service employs 25,000 unmarried women. As employees in the civil service, they are required to resign their positions upon marriage. The German woman's movement demands the repeal of this rule. A similar rule applies to the women teachers of Germany who demand its repeal. The abolition of compulsory celibacy for women teachers in German Switzerland by a referendum in 1911 has encouraged the German women to renewed efforts in their own country.

V

The working-woman's movement of Germany (Arbeiterinnen-Bewegung) is made up of women socialists and women trades-unionists. Their attitude toward the bourgeois woman's movement is best expressed in the statement of Clara Zetkin that, "The proletarian woman has achieved her economic independence. But not as a human being, nor as a

woman, nor as a wife has she the possibility of realizing her individuality. For her tasks as a wife and as a mother, there remain for her only the crumbs which fall from the table of capitalistic production." For this reason the working-woman has chosen to stand with her working-class brothers rather than with her middle-class sisters.

The socialist men, however, have not always manifested in practice the doctrines of equality contained in their program. Lily Braun writes: "However universally and officially the equal rights of the female sex may be recognized in the trade-union and political movement, however solemnly it is asserted by the party programs of all countries, a great many Social-Democrats, so far as the woman question is concerned, still maintain the old reactionary Philistine standpoint. A variation of a saying of Napoleon's applies to them, 'Tout pour la femme, mais rien avec elle'—we will conquer for woman all the rights, but we do not want her to battle with us. The increase of women wage-earners, to be sure, has strongly shaken this attitude in the trades-unions, for the organization of the women has become more and more imperative for their own existence: the unorganized women workers have it in

their power to make the struggle for better working conditions a hopeless one." [5]

Very early in its history, the Social-Democratic party began to discuss the advisability of a law excluding women from the factories, on the ground that such work destroyed the homes and families of the workers. Women were not then as active in the deliberations of the party as they came to be later and as they are at present. But there was enough consistency in the party which stood in theory for the economic equality of women to prevent an actual attack on the woman's right to earn and the demand gradually vanished.

At a later date, the question of special laws for the protection of working-women came up for discussion. At first the socialist women who in the meantime had come to the front were suspicious of this proposition. Frau Guillaume-Schack, who had gone over from the middle-class feminist movement to the socialist movement, opposed the adoption of any special laws limiting women's work. And Clara Zetkin also said: "We require no protection other than that which labor in general requires against capital." But in practice this theory proved untenable. The increasing number of

[5] Lily Braun: *Die Frauenfrage*, p. 461.

women wage-earners, their lack of organization, and their double burden of domestic work and wage-earning made the idea of self-help chimerical at this stage. The Socialist party, at the instance of the socialist women, demanded that the state should intercede on behalf of the sweated woman worker.

At the same time, the idea of self-help was vigorously cultivated by the leaders and organizers of the working-women. It must here be borne in mind that trade-unionism and socialism are synonymous in Germany. Following the repeal of the anti-socialist laws in 1890, the trade-union movement began to make steady advances. The woman members were invited into the existing trade-unions, not by accident but on principle. It is a fundamental principle of all the "free" (socialist) trade-unions that the women members shall in no way be segregated, but shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges of union membership on the same terms as men. In 1895, the government invoked the law which forbade women to belong to any association of a political character, drove the women out of the unions, and punished their leaders. The effect of this persecution of course was to stimulate the idea of combination and to further the

trade-union propaganda. So adroit were the socialist unions in circumventing the law and in cultivating the female membership in spite of it, that the new coalition laws of 1908 permitting women to ally themselves politically wherever they wished had little effect on the trade-unions. Underground or overground, the stream had never ceased to widen and grow.

Besides the social-democratic unions, or the "free" trade-unions as they are called (Freie Gewerkschaften), there are three other kinds of unions for women in Germany. These are the Christian Unions, the Hirsch-Duncker Unions, and the Commercial Union for Women Employees (Kaufmännischer Verband für weibliche Angestellte).

The commercial association is not a trade-union in the real sense of the word; it began rather as a welfare organization and though it has since developed along union lines it still lacks the rigorous autonomy of the industrial unions. It has, nevertheless, greatly advanced the interests of the women and girls in mercantile employments, and has coöperated with the feminists and suffragists in defending the woman's right to enter business against the ruthless attacks of the Deutschnationale Hand-

lungs-Gehilfen-Verband—the National German Union of Mercantile Assistants. This organization has 120,000 male members and one of its aims, as defined in its constitution, is to limit the employment of women in business pursuits. By open and covert methods they have essayed, and with frequent success, to prevent the establishment of free business-schools for girls. This organization demonstrates clearly that the middle-class man of Germany has still a great deal to learn from the workingman before he can appreciate the economic rights of women.

In 1911, the number of organized women wage-earners in the above societies were: in the "free" trade-unions, 191,332; in the Christion Unions, 27,152; in the Hirsch-Duncker societies, 6,097; in the Commercial Unions, 32,-177. The journal of the working-woman's movement, founded by Emma Ihrer and edited by Clara Zetkin, has a circulation of 85,000.

Between the working-woman's movement and the woman's movement, the difference is one of identity rather than of purpose. The Bund deutscher Frauenvereine has regularly worked for the labor reforms demanded by the working women. Some of the things for which the Bund has petitioned the local and general

assemblies are: the introduction of the eight-hour working day, the extension of the trade-court rights to women, the establishment of compulsory continuation schools for girl wage-earners, the appointment of women factory-inspectors, and the maintenance by the city of public nurseries for the children of wage-earning mothers. Besides the agitation for economic and industrial reforms, the women have conducted investigations regarding the conditions of labor and contributed very materially to the work of public enlightenment. The Bund has officially declared that in the matter of labor laws for the protection of women wage-earners, it "occupies the same standpoint as the organized working women."

The German labor laws of the present day make the following provisions concerning women in industry. The maximum working-day for five days in the week is 10 hours; for Saturday and for days preceding holidays it is 8 hours, with 5 P. M. for the latest closing. An uninterrupted night's rest of at least 11 hours is obligatory. Night work has been prohibited and women are not allowed to follow certain dangerous trades. The married woman may demand a noon-day pause of 1½ hours instead of the one hour allowed other workers.

The obligatory eight weeks' rest for confinement we have already mentioned in the discussion of maternity insurance.

VI

The problems of vocation and marriage occupy the foreground of feminist discussion in Germany. The enlistment of married women in industry has already gone very far. While they form about 11 per cent. of the women wage-earners of the United States, they form about 22 per cent. of the women wage-earners of Germany. There are about ten million married women in Germany, and of these 2,800,000 are in gainful employment. There are 2,420,000 widows, and of these about a million are wage-earning. Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne, in her statistical study of married women in Germany, found that the average marriage only lasted for two decades, and that nearly half the women over fifty have to work for their living.

Frau Kühne writes: "The question whether marriage is actually the chief occupation of women in the German Empire can be answered in this investigation neither with 'No' nor with 'Yes' only, but a conditional 'Yes.' The majority of the women achieve marriage, it is

true, but it can be regarded as a life-long vocation for only one-half of our women." [6]

It is an inescapable economic fact that married women are being compelled to earn in ever-increasing numbers. This conveys its lesson to the different branches of the feminist movement. Among the working-class women the realization grows that wage-earning is not a temporary stop-gap and this causes them to appreciate the need for organization. The middle-class woman's movement uses the fact of married women's work as a ground for the demand that the state shall educate and train the daughters of the middle-class for an occupation.

Still the Utopian proposal that married women should be entirely excluded from the factories continues to be heard. The answer of Henriette Fürth, herself the mother of eight children, may well be considered to have some weight; she says, "There has never yet been a time when motherhood was a life-filling vocation." Frau Fürth points out, furthermore, that in Germany 93 per cent. of the men over sixteen are gainfully employed and only 30 per cent. of the women of corresponding age. This

[6] Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne: *Die Deutsche Frau um die Jahrhundertwende*, p. 78.

shows there is no labor reserve among the men. The women must work. "The German people cannot afford the luxury of carrying several millions of human beings solely as ballast," says Marie Martin.

It is not the policy of the German feminists to urge married women into employment. But their point of view has nothing in common with the benevolent amateur who believes it possible to shut the married woman out of the factory and to raise the man's wages to a point where his wife will not need to work. The whole problem of vocation and marriage centers around the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of German mothers who must work ten hours daily in the factory and carry in addition the full burden of an individual household. The feminist diagnosis of this lamentable situation tries to stick close to the facts and to steer clear of abstractions and sentimentalities. It demands that the legal ten-hour day shall be reduced to an eight-hour day; that the child-caring institutions which supplement the school shall be developed and improved by the community; and that housekeeping methods shall be reformed and divested of their cumbering but stubborn traditions.

Time was when women were the slaves of fire and water; they spent their lives tending the hearth and going to the well. The echoes of this period still linger in the peasant and working classes. The factory worker must keep house in much the same way that she did before the factory was instituted. But the progressive German woman looks hopefully into the future. She quotes the efficiency of the American home as an example of what may be done and works for dwelling and housekeeping reforms as a valuable means to the emancipation of women.

VII

The married woman who has no other vocation constitutes the most difficult problem of the woman movement. She stands between "two worlds, the one dead, the other powerless to be born." The home has not entirely lost its productive character, and it rests with the individual woman in charge to revive its decadent productivity. Though the German census labels eleven million married housekeepers as "dependents," this description is not really true or just, notwithstanding the shirking of which some women may be guilty, and notwithstanding the enforced parasitism which other

women may rebel against in vain. The Nur-Hausfrau (the Housewife-Only) of Germany makes perhaps a greater economic contribution than any other Housekeeper-Only in the world, yet her economic and legal subjection is complete.

In her the legal rights of women are at their lowest ebb. She has not the same parental rights over her child that the unmarried mother has. And while the married woman of the working class controls her own earnings, the married woman of the propertied classes does not even control her own property, unless she takes the precaution to secure that right in the marriage contract. The banks will not therefore permit her to open an account without her husband's consent. One of the most radical acts of the Woman's Bank (Frauenbank) of Berlin was to advertise that it would accept accounts without the approval of husbands.

Dr. Käthe Schirmacher holds that the economic dependence of the married woman spread its baleful influence over the economic position of the whole sex. Because women's work in the home and for the family is not valued in terms of money-wages, their work outside the home is poorly paid. The woman is accustomed to working in her home for noth-

ing and she is not herself able to place a sufficiently high value on her services when they are performed outside the home for an employer. The economic independence of the unmarried woman is constantly hampered and impeded by the economic dependence of the married woman.

VIII

Similarly, all the problems of the feminist movement hang together. No sex solidarity is possible unless the interests of all classes of women are represented. The way in which German feminism faces all its tasks is a model for the more one-sided endeavors of the Anglo-Saxon propaganda. The economic dependence of the married woman, the economic exploitation of the factory worker, and the economic helplessness of the child-bearer have been equally shouldered by the organization which aims to do no less than to fight the battles of the *whole* sex.

The complete dependence of the married woman upon her husband is a condition against which the feminists never lose an opportunity to protest. Such an opportunity came with the declaration of war in Germany, when the soldiers' wives suddenly found themselves in

possession of a cash pittance from the government and so lost their heads that their behavior was considered a public scandal. Writing about these women in the *Frauenfrage,* Anna Pappritz asked, "On whom does this situation reflect, on the women themselves or the economic subjection in which they have been kept? For many of these women, dependence is so oppressive that they feel their present independence as a veritable salvation." This legalized humiliation of the married woman is the humiliation of all women, and until the economic position of the married woman is improved the subjection of women will continue to endure.

In the same way, the exploitation of the married factory worker, who stands all day at the machine and half the night at the wash-tub, is the grievance of all women. This inhuman exploitation makes the working-woman incapable of any sort of development. Shut out from all impersonal interests and even ignorant of her own interests, she can take no part whatever in the woman movement. She must have some leisure as the first condition of her enlistment.

The economic helplessness of the child-bearer has, to some extent, been relieved by the

introduction of state maternity insurance. This put an end to the complete dependence of the mother and child upon the father. The far-reaching significance of this slight economic victory can only be appreciated when we remember that the original enslavement of woman resulted from her weakness and defenselessness at childbirth. It is one of the deepest ironies of our civilization that the woman in childbed has for her sole economic shield and protector the being who once used just this occasion to conquer and rob her.

The problem of vocation and marriage is no longer stated as a dilemma,—vocation *or* marriage,—as it was in the earlier days. It is rather viewed as a task in organization, the collective organization of women's lives. There is, after all, plenty of room in a woman's life for work, for love, and for children. It is only the artificial arrangements of society which place these things before her as irreconcilable conflicts; which teach her to see in each of the stages of her life a reversal of the one that went before; which refuse to permit her any outlook upon a unified, self-directed development. Through the influence of the woman movement she is learning to repudiate economic arrangements which forbid her to love work,

love love, and love children all at the same time. It is the common task of women to mold new economic arrangements which permit her to have all three.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VALKYRIE VOTE

I

The most nobly planned woman of all mythology is the creation of Germanic and Scandinavian folk-lore. The Valkyrie has no equal in Oriental or Southern myths. The dominant female types of the latter were an Eve, who embodied the idea of sin; a Venus, who embodied the idea of love; and a Helen, who embodied the idea of beauty. It was left to the youngest of the pagan religions,—for it is still less than a thousand years since the Norwegians abandoned the worship of Wotan,—to personify in the character of the Valkyrie, the idea of choice.[1] She is not the beautiful temptress, but she is the strong chooser, the elector of the brave for the seats of Valhalla. Her hand is formed to rein a horse and to wield a lance, and her favor is only for him who can overcome her at wrestling and other feats of

[1] Küren = to choose.

strength. In her physical prowess, the Valkyrie represents the strong women of the Northern races and in her character of chooser, she typifies the mystical element in the theory of democracy—a belief in the ultimate and individual will.

It was the Valkyrie's destiny to serve a master who has only one eye. He had voluntarily plucked it out as a part of the price which he paid for his wife. From that time forth, Wotan went about the business of ruling, made war and peace, signed treaties and broke them, built and bargained, on the basis of this handicapped vision. The allegory does not say, however, that the one-eyed Lawgiver was ever aware of any essential deficiency in his way of looking at things. This part of his story serves to point a feminist moral, for the one-eyed Wotan is a perfect analogy for the masculine State which plucks out one eye by the disfranchisement of women.

Germany is a prime example of such a one-eyed State. It is far behind the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon governments in its attitude towards woman and the franchise. The modern nation seems to have pretty thoroughly forgotten the traditional dignity and influence of women in its tribal days. And the legendary

figure of the "Urweib" (primitive woman) survives chiefly as a favorite subject for the comic journals. Her only rival in the world of jokes is the "Frauenrechtlerin" (woman's rights female) with mannish attire and mannish ways. The thing which seems so funny in both of them is the assumption of the unfeminine quality of strength. I am speaking now, of course, of the parliament of fools. But the attitude of the most serious parliament of the realm is not so very different. Women have no representation and no influence in the deliberation of the Reichstag. Through this purely masculine organ, the state exercises its one-eyed vision and jealously resists every effort to normalize the social and political vision of the nation by giving representation to women.

The more successful woman suffragists of the other countries are naturally inclined to look upon the German contingent as a lagging sisterhood. And there is plenty of self-criticism within the German suffrage movement which is frankly severe in its tone. But before scolding the German suffragists for being backward with their propaganda, one should call to mind the peculiar political medium in which these women have had to work. Compared with the

general backwardness of democratic government in their country, they are not much farther "behind the game" than the American suffragists are in their own commonwealth. The German law which refuses all franchise rights to women also refuses equal franchise rights to men. Nor has all the combined strength of the great four million party of Social-Democrats been able to reform the unequal election laws. However, no one regards the Social-Democratic men as ineffectual, because they have so far failed to win a democratic franchise system. Though they are practically without the vote still, they are by no means a lagging brotherhood in the march towards democracy. Their amazing unity must be admired by every one, socialist and non-socialist alike, as an instance of wonderful political action.

It is not, therefore, for the lack of results that the German woman suffrage movement is open to criticism. But it is for the lack of solidarity and unity in the pursuit of the vote. The suffragists are divided into different groups, and recent developments show an increase in the number of camps rather than a decrease. In spite of the fact that the cause has advanced, the lack of agreement among the suffragists has not been eliminated. The es-

sential difficulty is that they have got to move forward and backward at the same time. Their problem presents a peculiar tangle of progress and reaction. In so far as the women demand the franchise, their demand falls in with the direct line of progress; but in so far as the German franchise system is an extremely reactionary and undemocratic institution, they are confronted by the necessity of deciding what *kind* of franchise. It is this decision which opens the door to disagreement.

II

In Germany, the one-man, one-vote system does not exist. A man has one vote, two votes, three votes, or four votes according to the size of his income, the amount of taxes he pays, the profession he follows, and the age which he has reached. The workingman with his single ballot is liable to be out-voted by the plural ballots of the propertied classes, unless he can muster enormous numbers. Besides the various property qualifications, a further distinction exists in the form of the "active and passive" suffrage, the former carrying eligibility to office and the latter merely the right to cast the ballot. Thus it will be seen that the women's decision as to what *kind* of suffrage

they wish to demand is fraught with various possibilities of opinion.

This is why there are several instead of one suffrage society in Germany, each demanding the franchise in different terms. The German Society for Woman Suffrage (Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht) demands the universal, equal, secret, and direct suffrage—active and passive, for men and women. This is the same kind of franchise which the Socialist women demand, and, if introduced, would make a clean sweep of all the present inequalities of the electoral system. The German Union for Woman Suffrage (Deutsche Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht), founded in 1911, simply asks for the suffrage, and this is also the demand of the General German Women's Society (Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein). The Federation of German Women's Societies (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine) has had in its program since 1907 the demand for active and passive franchise. The Federation of Progressive Women's Societies (Verband Fortschrittlicher Frauenvereine) leans towards the democratic franchise, and the Men's League for Women Suffrage carries on a general campaign for suffrage.

While every one admits that this multiplica-

tion of societies does not aid the cause, there is yet apparent a certain competition of service which has just the opposite effect. Between the two most prominent camps, the Federation of Women's Societies and the Social-Democratic Women, there is a persistent rivalry as to which shall be regarded as the actual representative of the woman suffrage cause. Certainly this does not tend to detract from the moral prestige of the idea of woman's political emancipation.

So much for the disintegrating influences which played upon the women's suffrage movement from the outside, that is, from conditions inherent in the political state which they were striving to enter. Within the feminist movement itself, there was another untoward influence which hampered the suffrage agitation in the last years of the nineteenth century and required several years to be lived down. The discouragement was all the greater because it came from an unexpected quarter.

III

In 1896, Ellen Key delivered an address at the Woman's Congress in Copenhagen in which she attacked the ruling ideals of the suffrage movement *in toto*. She declared in this

speech, which was entitled "The Abuse of Woman's Strength," that the emancipators of woman were making a mistake in seeking new fields of work and power instead of freeing and enhancing the field of work which was peculiarly hers. The suffragists, especially, were accused of forgetting, in their race for political rights, the claims of the woman as a sex-being (Geschlechtswesen). The desire for economic independence was roundly criticized as an indiscriminating rush into men's occupations while the maternal function was exalted as the sole legitimate work for women.

The echoes of bitter dissensions aroused by this speech have not yet wholly died out of German feminism. The aged and magnificent Hedwig Dohm, a leader of the movement for political freedom, showered her most brilliant arrows against the misguided feminist who had "sworn a Hannibal oath" to destroy the woman suffragists.[2] Yet the duel was logically unnecessary. It was the unfortunate result of the inconsistent thinking and deficient powers of correlation which make up the liberal percentage of dross in Ellen Key's purest inspirations. Her service to continental feminism was that

[2] Hedwig Dohm: "Weib contra Weib," in *Die Anti-Feministen.*

she helped to crystallize a new and necessary thought which had been too long obscured and evaded. Her disservice was her failure to realize that the emancipation of woman as a sex-being could only be achieved together with her political enfranchisement and economic independence. So much was she in love with her youngest version of the free woman that the earlier versions had no attraction for her. Her attitude was like that of the primitive mother whose warmth is all for the babe in arms while the older children are impatiently pushed away from the maternal knee.

When Ellen Key visited Berlin in 1905, on the occasion of the founding of the Mutterschutz organization, she made a public statement of her allegiance to woman suffrage. This was, however, a weak reparation for the mischief already done. She had helped to retard the progress of woman's enfranchisement in Germany and, through this, the progress of the entire woman's movement. In the history of German and Scandinavian feminism, she stands in the forefront as the messenger of a very important truth. But she has always occupied an isolated position, and her lack of associative discipline is reflected in the impractical quality of many of her ideas. Her genius

and her incompetence together have made her the "wise fool" of the woman movement.

IV

The year of 1908 brought a reform of the utmost importance to woman suffrage in Germany. Until that date, women and minors had been not only legally disfranchised but legally excluded from all participation in political organizations. We have already referred to the successful evasion of this law by the Social-Democratic Party in its organization of women. There only remains to be added that this party was equally forehanded in the education and organization of youth. It became increasingly apparent to the other Parties that a law which brought nobody good but the Socialists might just as well be repealed. And so the Reichstag lifted the ban to the extent of granting full coalition rights to women.

The effect was immediately seen in the changed behavior of the national parties. The spectacle of the ensuing campaign years must have made the gods laugh. A Conservative Party, which organized lectures and especially invited women to attend; a Clerical Party, which formed a union of women whose function it was to urge the men to vote; and a Lib-

eral Party, which put forward women speakers on its platforms—were all one in their caution not to set a ball rolling which they could not stop. To be sure, the section of the Liberal Party known as the Progressive People's Party (Fortschrittliche Volkspartei) promised to put woman suffrage in its platform at the next convention. But when the time came, the plank adopted turned out to be a very weak one.

The suffragists, for their part, were confronted by a difficult problem as the outgrowth of their new political privilege. It was not possible for them to maintain a strictly neutral attitude towards the existing party system, as, for example, the suffragists in the United States have been able to do. An important section of the German women were already committed to activities within the working-class party; therefore the suffragists whose political sympathies lay with the Liberals and Conservatives could lose nothing by accepting the alliance so gingerly offered by the middle-class and upper-class politicians.

The elections of 1912 found a number of women active as campaign speakers and organizers in many parts of the country. Their presence in the foreground of the campaign

helped, at least, to accustom the public to the idea of women's being there. It demonstrated their readiness to exercise their political rights as far as these rights extended, and especially did it show the preparedness of the women for entering public life. The Liberal Party may well have congratulated itself on reaping where it had not sown, for the abilities of its new campaigners, trained by the woman movement, were of an unusually high order.

Many years ago a German woman published a novel with the title, *Women Have No Fatherland.*[3] She was writing at the time when German women had to trek to Switzerland to study because their own universities refused to admit them. Things have advanced greatly in Germany since then. Women may enter the universities and enter the political parties. But the phrase is still quoted by the feminist leaders and the German women are still expatriates within their own country. So long as the woman has no national representation, and so long as she loses her nationality by marriage to a foreigner, it is literally true that she has no Fatherland.

The last time the woman suffrage petition was produced in the Reichstag, it was not

[3] Ilse Frapan: *Die Frauen haben kein Vaterland.*

thrown into the waste-basket, as had always been done previously, but was referred to a committee. The reason for this revolutionary piece of *snailsmanship* was given from the floor of the Reichstag and to the nation at large, as the *necessity of preventing a possible resort to English suffragette methods.* The Reichstag did not leave the German feminists in doubt as to who it was that kept their petition out of the waste-basket.

V

It has been the tactics of the German suffragists to utilize such minor rights as they possessed in the complex franchise system. These rights have included membership in school boards and charity boards, and appointments as legal guardians of neglected children.

Besides these minor public bodies, there are minor economic bodies to which women are eligible. Such are the business and trade boards which form a political unit in Germany. In Hessen and Bremen, the woman who owns a business is eligible to the Chamber of Commerce. In the administration of the local insurance funds, which is carried on by representatives of the employers and of the workers,

women are entitled to vote and hold office both as workers and as employers.

The German suffragists fully appreciate the value of social work as a preparation for public life and encourage women to take a share in the social work nearest at hand. In this they reflect the generally well-developed social consciousness of the German mind. And they also say candidly that some education outside the home is a necessary stage in woman's preparation for the franchise. While she is waiting for her full rights of citizenship in the political state, there is still a vast area of social service which is open to her and into which she can and must escape from the jealous privacy of the domestic sphere.

In her book on *Woman and the Culture of Public Life* Ika Freudenberg emphasizes the deficiencies of the home as a school of citizenship. She points out that the rules which govern the family have nothing in common with those which govern society. The family has remained an island in the midst of the ethical and legal development of other institutions. In fact, the law always drew a sharp line at any interference in the purely patriarchal system bounded by the walls of the home. The best of wives found nothing wrong in the practice of

cunning as a defense against the husband's grudging, and sometimes captious, attitude toward the housekeeping expenses. Sisters had to yield precedence to brothers in all serious matters of education and freedom of movement, and were recompensed with spoiling, dressing, and social pleasures. The only standard governing family relations was the "matter of course," and it was left to chance to solve the conflict of differing interests. Naturally, the generations of women who spent their lives in this island-existence retained a moral submissiveness and a tendency to derive their actions from a background of feeling rather than reason, which only the discipline of social effort could efface.[4]

The whole amount of social and communal work carried on by women in Germany long ago reached impressive proportions. The discipline thus voluntarily sought and gained by the women proved a great national asset when the country went to war in 1914. The organized woman's movement represented by the Federation of Women's Societies, instantly converted itself into a National Women's Service (Nationales Frauendienst) which dedicated

[4] Ika Freudenberg: *Die Frau und die Kultur des öffentlichen Lebens*, p. 19.

its machinery and its members to the communities' needs. In the system of greater housekeeping which now welded the whole people into one domestic unit, the converted feminist societies played an important part. They ran employment exchanges, day nurseries, and food dispensaries. In hundreds of ways they helped the government to mitigate the conditions of social distress. All that they had learned by working for their sex, they offered unreservedly to the fatherland.

It is inconceivable that so much national devotion should count for nothing in the eyes of the ruling classes or that the suffrage agitation should have to begin again when peace is restored just where it left off when the war was declared. One thing, however, is perfectly sure. Wherever they resume the struggle, they will go on to the gates of the Reichstag. The suffrage leader, Hedwig Dohm, who has passed her eightieth year, recently wrote: "Long after I am dead and burned, my ashes will glow when the portals of the Reichstag are opened to women."

VI

Much more than the German woman, has the Scandinavian woman preserved the tradi-

tional freedom and power of their common Teutonic ancestress. In the history of the Scandinavian wars lies one of the reasons. During long periods, sometimes for years, the men were withdrawn from the northern peninsulas and the women were left alone to keep up their homes and maintain the country. The independence thus cultivated in the women did not, of course, take flight upon the return of the ruling sex. The practice of authority and responsibility can not be so quickly unlearned. In consequence of these experiences, the average Scandinavian wife is not so likely to be the handmaid of her husband as the average German wife; and the excellent *camaraderie* between the Scandinavian youth of both sexes is sadly lacking in the young generation of Germany.

The uniformly high status of the Scandinavian women in public life includes the right of the franchise. In all but one of the Scandinavian countries, they have full suffrage. Their enfranchisement has proceeded by gradual stages from the church suffrage and communal suffrage to national suffrage, and exhibits an inspiring crescendo between 1905 and 1915.

The extension of the franchise was only one

of many Scandinavian reforms affecting women. Since 1910, a Scandinavian Family Law Commission has been continuously at work revising the laws concerning family relationships. The commission is appointed by the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish governments and consists of two men and one woman from each country. The effect of its work is already seen in the divorce reforms, marriage reforms, and illegitimacy reforms by which these countries sought to improve the position of the wife and children in the family at the expense of patriarchal privilege. At the present time, the commission is engaged with the revision of the married woman's property laws—a revision which is greatly needed to supplement the new illegitimacy laws of Norway.

Sweden is the only Scandinavian state which limits woman suffrage to the communal vote. They have been entitled to representation in the communal councils since 1862, the right being based on the payment of an income tax. They may also vote in the church councils and sit on the school boards and charity boards. There are 150 women members of the Swedish communal councils.

The first bill proposing to give the parliamentary suffrage to women was introduced in

1884. In 1902, a second bill was introduced. In 1907, electoral reforms which extended male suffrage were adopted but the women were still allowed to wait. And that is what they are still doing, though not in idleness. There are over 200 suffrage societies with 17,000 women working for the parliamentary franchise.

VII

Finland has had complete woman suffrage since 1906. The women's enfranchisement came as the result of the Finnish struggle for independence. The doughty services of the Finnish women patriots in the long contest with Russian domination received the ballot as a reward when the new constitution and parliament were achieved. In the highly democratized internal government of Finland, women have full political equality with men. They take an active share in the polls and sit in the Finnish parliament, which consists of a single house. Between 1907 and 1912, the number of women representatives varied from 14 to 25.

During the session of 1913-1914, the following bills were proposed by women members or with their collaboration:[5]

[5] *Jus Suffragii*, May 1, 1914.

1. A motion to reduce the minimum of solitary confinement in prisons from 4 months to 1 month.

2. A motion to permit women offenders in the penitentiary to be employed in penal work outside of prison.

3. A motion to improve the conditions of employment of clerks and apprentices.

4. A petition concerning women's right to state appointments.

5. A petition concerning prison discipline.

6. A petition concerning women employees of the railroad system.

7. A petition concerning traveling fellowships for teachers of housekeeping, cookery, etc.

8. A petition concerning subsidies for home industry.

9. A petition concerning subsidies for home education.

10. A petition concerning the founding of homes for destitute mothers and children.

11. A petition concerning the care and education of the feeble-minded.

12. A petition concerning the prohibition of traveling animal shows.

13. A petition concerning the protection of birds.

14. A petition concerning the improving of the public moral standard.

15. A petition concerning a governmental in-

vestigation on the condition of workers in the clothing industry.

16. A petition concerning the investigation of home workers.

17. A petition concerning a subsidy to the women servants' association.

VIII

Norway was the first sovereign state of Europe to give full citizenship rights to women. It was brought about by a series of electoral reforms which began in 1901 and culminated in the democratic laws of 1913.

In 1901, when the universal communal franchise was carried for men, the women received the limited communal franchise. This entitled about three-fifths of them to vote on municipal questions. In that year, 48 per cent. of the qualified women voters went to the polls and in 1907, the proportion of actual voters had risen to 63 per cent. of the qualified. Women are members of the school boards, sit on juries, and serve in the County Councils. About 150 women have been elected to membership in the latter.

In 1905, when the union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved, the question was

referred to the Norwegian people. As women were limited to the communal franchise only at that time, they were not entitled to vote in the official referendum. So they organized an unofficial referendum of their own, in which 300,000 women voted unanimously for Norwegian independence while 400,000 men were voting for the same thing. One of the earliest reforms of the new independent state was to extend the parliamentary franchise to women, a step which was finally accomplished in 1907. The property qualification was again invoked, however, by the conservative element to disfranchise about two-fifths of the adult female population. The woman suffrage agitation could not therefore relax its efforts for another six years; that is, until 1913, when the law gave equal suffrage rights to all men and women who are citizens of Norway, are more than 25 years of age, and have lived in the country for at least five years.

At no stage of this gradual advance have the women shown a disposition to leave their new rights dormant. In the first municipal elections after 1901, women were elected to the city council of Christiania. Since 1907, 90 per cent. of the qualified women voters have appeared at the polls. The effect of universal

woman suffrage in 1913 was to be seen in the ensuing elections. Of 62 Conservative candidates, 12 were women; of 37 Liberal candidates, 9 were women; of 45 Independents, 12 were women; and of 59 Socialists, 9 were women. Women are eligible for all national offices except in the diplomatic and consular service, the military positions, and the supreme courts.

Since women have voted in Norway, many reforms affecting women and children have been passed by the Storthing. In 1908, a law establishing equal pay for equal work was passed. In 1909, the maternity insurance law was adopted. In 1915, the illegitimacy laws were revised.

IX

Denmark is the latest country to enfranchise its women. On June 5, 1915, the new Danish constitution was signed, which gives suffrage to women and abolishes property qualifications for both men and women voters.

This also is the triumphant ending of a long and patient advance, in which the Icelandic women and the Icelandic government have led the way. In that strange land of ice, Nature has played the part of the woman's ally;—in

that land, "burst-up, the geologists say, by fire from the bottom of the sea, a wild land of barrenness and lava, swallowed many months of every year in black tempests, yet with a wild, gleaming beauty in summer-time, towering up there stern and grim in the North Ocean, with its snow yokuls, roaring geysers, sulphur pools, and horrid volcanic chasms, like the waste, chaotic battlefield of Frost and Fire." This grim, stern island was the common enemy which united the sexes in a human league of defense; here Nature became the great teacher who cultivated humility in men and dignity in women.

The Iceland law gave women the limited communal franchise in 1882 and the universal communal franchise in 1907. In 1914 the government gave up one of its two mail-ships a year in order to send the women delegates to the International Suffrage Congress.

The success of the Iceland women stirred the Danish women to work for the same rights. For many years the Danish upper house of Parliament resisted the enfranchisement of women but was finally compelled to yield in order to preserve its own existence. The new democratic constitution was on the eve of adoption when the European war broke out, and the promised land threatened to recede once more

into the distance. In the spring of 1915, however, the political parties came to an effective agreement and woman suffrage in Denmark is now an accomplished fact.

CHAPTER IX

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FEMINISM

I

The basic idea of feminism, with which every other idea and every material achievement must square, is the emancipation of woman as a personality. The struggle for self-consciousness is the essence of the feminist movement. Slowly but inevitably, the soul of a sex is emerging from the dim chamber of instinct and feeling into the strong sunshine of reason and will. The progressive intensification of self-consciousness which makes up the business of being human is a sufficiently difficult task in itself, for men as well as women. But at least the collective mind of the male half of humanity is not shunted and deflected from its true goal by the constant interference of a superstition corresponding to that of "woman's intuition." The convenient fiction that women's knowledge is based on instinct, intuition, and divination deprives her even of the power to

control her own mental life. She is stripped of her last autonomous function and regarded as the instrument of supernatural wisdom. Instead of the natural rights with which men were endowed by eighteenth century philosophy, women were endowed with unnatural privileges.

The restoration of woman's self-respect is the gist of the feminist movement. The most substantial of its political victories can have no higher value than this—that they teach women not to depreciate their own sex. When the whole tale of objective achievements has been completed, when the schools have been opened to women, the dress fetich banished, state maternity insurance introduced, the legal protection of motherhood and childhood within marriage and outside of it guaranteed, the economic independence of women assured, and their political enfranchisement accomplished,—the sum of all these cultural victories will be more than needed to wipe out the psychological residue of subjection in the individual woman soul.

The final problem of the feminist movement is the woman who "wishes that she were a man"; the mother who feels that to bear a son is a prouder lot than to bear a daughter. Every

time she thus depreciates her sex in her private soul, she does a subtle injury to all women by giving personal assent to the idea of the essential inferiority of the mother-sex to the father-sex of the world.

It may be long before the average woman can sincerely respect her sex. But those who have found themselves in the woman movement have ceased to defraud their sense of life in this way. They may be betrayed by the daily suggestions of social intercourse into petty disloyalties to the new-found faith, but they will at least be ashamed of such disloyalties and repent them as bitterly as the man who once went aside to weep because he had betrayed his Master thrice. The individual woman is required, not thrice but a thousand times a day, to assume the attitude and the behavior of an inferior being. She must choose either to accept her appointed rôle and thereby rescue her good disposition out of the wreckage of her self-respect, or else to follow an independent line of behavior and rescue her self-respect out of the wreckage of her good disposition. It is only natural that many a feminist should choose the former course to avoid incessant friction, allowing her behavior to be molded by social rules which emphasize the inequality

of the sexes. Having once conceded a decorous behavior, she may sometimes forget that she is a creature with a human countenance and that subordination is therefore contrary to the law of her being. So deeply does the influence of behavior strike in.

It is not placing the cart before the horse to say that the conquest of the political franchise and of economic rights is a valuable means toward the creation of a more independent state of mind in the individual woman. These things are merely way stations in the process of her inner emancipation. The same is true of the organized woman's movement, which carries the idea of a free personality to an increasing number of adherents. The spread of the feminist idea through the new social, economic, and political rights of women and through the international machinery of women's organizations is creating a vast nexus of communication between woman and woman by means of which the new attitude of sex-affirmation is fostered.

But we need to look back only a few years to glimpse a period when the only power of the feminist message was its truth and the only impetus of the movement was the force of a few individual personalities. This period was

especially recent in Germany, where a group of women writers carried on a vigorous but solitary literary propaganda as late as the nineties. The later popularity and success of the movement has not diminished the habits of militant thinking then developed. There is no disposition on the part of these feminist writers to take out a patent on a new idea and thereafter to live on the proceeds. They go right on thinking.

The German women, as we should expect, are the metaphysicians of the woman movement. Their contribution to the philosophy of feminism is a significant chapter in the history of their efforts. Their belief in the power of ideas, their respect for clear thinking, and their appreciation of scientific leadership reflect their national background. The feminists' methods, like all other cultural methods and reform movements of the country, are dyed in the intellectualism of the most scientific civilization in the world.

By practice and on principle, they are a highly articulate set. They make no truce with secrecy and concealment, and their organizations have none of the character of silently moving machinery or of an underground conspiracy. In this general atmosphere of public-

ity and candor, self-expression thrives and ideas rise to the top. The fresh current of free discussion thus maintained is like the ceaseless play of oxygen over the brain without which all the vital functions of the body would promptly abdicate. The ability of the feminist leaders to formulate and clarify their ideas for translation into public opinion and public law is cultivated at the same time that the public mind is prepared for the next phase of woman's release.

A clear record of the mental side of German and Scandinavian feminism exists is the continental journals of which I have already spoken. There is also a varied mass of literary material, both scientific and popular, which shows how extensively the women writers of the present generation are under the influence of the feminist movement. Fiction, poetry, and doctors' theses bear the traces of the new woman's existence. In the foreground of all this literature, however, stands the work of certain authors who have done more than any one else in shaping the ideals of the movement. Certain clear-cut personalities and clear-cut ideas are not to be passed over when we weigh the influences at work in the woman's cause.

II

One thing upon which the feminist philosophers are agreed is that the new woman must begin where she stands. She must say, with Archimedes, "Give me where I stand." And seeing that she stands in the midst of arbitrary obstacles and jealous limits, her first duty is to raze the lot. Women have to demand a great many things which may not necessarily be good in themselves simply because these things are forbidden. They have also to reject many things which may not necessarily be evil in themselves simply because they are prescribed. The idea of obedience can have no moral validity for women for a long time to come.

Two Scandinavian writers of the nineteenth century, Fredrika Bremer of Sweden and Camilla Collett of Norway, well exemplify the principle of beginning where one stands. They opened the gates to the woman's revolt in their respective countries by their criticisms of family relationships and marriage. Fredrika Bremer dwelt especially upon the unworthy position of the daughter in the home and Camilla Collett upon the unworthy position of the woman in betrothal and marriage.

It is difficult to realize when we read to-day

the sentimental and pious fiction of Fredrika Bremer that these books represent the first open revolt of the middle-class daughter. For their time, they were a shameless defense of intractability. Yet there is nothing in Fredrika's pictures of Swedish family life to indicate that she had any vision of the emancipated daughter against any other background than the home of her childhood. She conceived of the daughter as a permanent fixture in the large, populous family which the early nineteenth century regarded as a normal household, and she only contended that the daughter should enjoy the rights of an adult in this small-sized community when she had reached an adult's estate.

The fifty years which intervene between Fredrika Bremer and ourselves have brought about a progressive disintegration of the consanguineous family. Not the feminist movement but economic and social conditions have wrought this change. Neither is it accurate to describe what is happening as the destruction of the family. It is merely the dissection of the family into smaller and more mobile economic units. Nevertheless, this shrinkage in the diameter of the home and the readjustments which it causes are matters of tremen-

dous import to women. The exodus of the unmarried daughter from her home has produced a new problem by which we may measure how far we now stand from where Fredrika Bremer stood when she wrote *Hertha*. This new problem is the isolation of the economically independent woman and her want of human contacts. The development of coöperative living arrangements, the establishment of women's clubs and women's hotels is a part of the effort to deal with this problem.

When *Hertha* was written, the "Paternal Statutes" of Sweden, which deprived the daughter of all rights over her person and property, were still in existence. Unless she married—and she could not marry without her father's consent—she remained throughout her lifetime a minor in the eye of the law, subject to the guidance of her father or nearest male relative in all her personal and financial affairs. Fredrika Bremer's attack on the system of patriarchal guardianship resulted in the repeal of the law and gave to the Swedish women the first legal and elementary rights to a personality.

Camilla Collett, the first great feminist of Norway, found the Norwegian women com[redacted]y submerged under the injunction of

silence imposed by the church. A modern Norwegian feminist tells us that, under the incessant counsels to humility and submission, "they had finally settled into a resignation which was not unlike a spiritual paralysis." [1] Camilla Collett was the first woman who essayed to break the spell, and her book, entitled *Out of the Camp of the Mute,* started a healthy reaction against the devitalizing effects of this over-praised silence. The arguments for women's rights contained in this book and in an earlier work, *The Magistrate's Daughters,* made a strong impression on the mind of the young dramatist Henrik Ibsen, and were the direct source of the consistent vein of feminism which runs through all his works. By that same token, they were the remote source of the feminist philosophy distilled by G. B. S. from the plays of the Norwegian dramatist and couched in his essay on the "Womanly Woman"—the essay which is the quintessence of *The Quintessence of Ibsenism.*

III

Coming down to the modern German interpreters of feminism, we find them definitely

[1] Gina Krog, in her History of the Norwegian Woman Movement, *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung,* Vol. I, p. 303.

preoccupied with certain natural rights of women which have already been formulated as principles. One of these principles is the woman's right to variability; another is her right to freedom of movement; and another is her right to self-defense. The first repudiates the dogma of "the eternal feminine" (das Ewig Weibliche), the second denies the finality of "woman's place is in the home"; and the third rejects the command to "turn the other cheek." It is a primary necessity to remove these and similar dogmatic obstacles to women's development as individuals before women can really begin to build up for themselves positive and fruitful ideals of life.

The right to variability forms the theme of a book by Rosa Mayreder, *Critique der Weiblichkeit* (Critique of Femininity), a study in the psychology of the woman movement. Frau Mayreder makes war on the undifferentiated female type, "that paragon from which all divergence is considered as degeneration." Since progress feeds upon variability, she shows how short-sighted is the attempt to force an entire sex into a single mold. No single woman is bound to be any particular type of personality, but all women taken together are bound to be all sorts of people. But so power-

ful is the "tyranny of the norm" that most women succumb to mental stagnation at a comparatively early age and only the most elastic individualities continue to hold their own against the repressive terrors of taboo and ostracism.

The right to self-defense has only recently been asserted by women, though masculine literature, from Genesis to Nietzsche, is full of heaped-up insults against their sex. There can be no doubt as to who began the literary war between the sexes. Also there is no comparison between the severity and harshness of the tone of criticism in the opposing camps. If we search the polemic writings of the most militant feminists, we can nowhere find expressions which compare in venom and ruthlessness with the woman-eating sentiments of certain medieval "saints" and modern "philosophers." The most smashing polemics of the woman movement are now being published by the German feminists; yet they are all written solely from the defensive point of view. "More pride, you women! How is it possible that you do not rise up against the contempt that still meets you on every hand? Yes, even to-day!" These are the words of a gray-haired woman and not of a youthful rebel.

The authors of the two most brilliant defenses are Dr. Käthe Schirmacher and Frau Hedwig Dohm. It is interesting to compare the personal background and environment of these two typically militant spirits. Life gave Hedwig Dohm wifehood and motherhood, domesticity to the brim; it gave Käthe Schirmacher university study and foreign travel, intellectual activity without stint. Yet they both came out by the same gate.

Of her own apprenticeship in feminism, Hedwig Dohm writes: "I do not need to ask any one what is the truth in the woman movement. I know it. If a tiling falls from the roof upon one's head, one knows that the roof is defective. One does not need to have it investigated first. When they robbed me of the right to develop my individuality because of the circumstance that I was born with a female body; when, in the place of the knowledge and truth for which I was reaching out, they put into my hand the really over-estimated cooking spoon,—they drove a human soul, which was created perhaps to live splendidly and fruitfully, into a desert of wild fantasies and sterile dreams, from which it first awakened as this mode of life came to an end. Whoever has thus felt in her own breast the whole misery

of womanhood can measure, by the pain of wounds that never heal, the deadly injustice of the human order heretofore."

Her book, *The Anti-Feminists,* is addressed to the man who "regards woman only as the passage of the actual human being, as the bearer of the man."

Referring to Nietzsche, whose attacks were not only vicious but unworthy of his great genius, she says, "that mediocre and inferior brains should utter judgments about women without wisdom or depth is not remarkable. But whence comes this strange phenomenon, that even superior and bold thinkers, as soon as their pens approach the woman question (why do they approach it at all?) give their brains a recess and begin to juggle with feelings, instincts, intuitions, and eternal truths? Devoid of logic, science, and conscience, they stroll indolently along through a peddler's market of thoughts and offer us old plunder which they have read up cheaply somewhere, though this is not at all becoming to them, and, in fact, highly imprudent. For when we meet them again on their sunny heights, we mistrust the wisdom of those who once sold us shoddy goods; and we are uncertain as to whether it was Zeus, who then disguised himself as a ped-

dler, or whether it is now the peddler who is disguised as Zeus and sitting on the throne of Olympus."

But Hedwig Dohm is not always so impervious to attacks upon her sex. After reading a number of books by anti-feminist doctors, she wrote, "What if I were in error, and indeed we women were indiscriminately sick, sick; nothing but a great wound in the universe; and we poor invalids in spite of ourselves would really do best—as the wounded animal creeps into a thicket—to vanish within the nursery, the bedchamber, the lying-in chamber, giving ourselves up solely to the culture of our sex-functions."

The writer goes on to tell how this mood of discouragement was dispelled by a visit from a blooming young matron of her acquaintance, an artist who was expecting her second baby. The vivid and radiant energy of the young mother was a sufficient answer to the agonizing doubts conjured up by the medical authors she had been reading.

When we remember that this confession of discouragement was written by one of the most dauntless spirits of the woman movement, we realize the strength of the powers which keep a whole sex in subjection. The girl's education

is permeated by suggestions of weakness and incapacity; the language she speaks uses "virile" to flatter and "effeminate" to scorn. These things insinuate themselves into her consciousness and weaken her character before it awakes, like the subtle poison drops which entered the ear of Hamlet's father and destroyed him as he slept.

In 1911, a feminist book was published in Germany which was considered very audacious. It was quite as audacious for 1911 as Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* was for 1792, and that is saying a great deal. The book is called *Das Rätsel: Weib* (The Riddle: Woman); and on the title page one reads, "Dies ist ein Buch der Tränen und des Zorns" (This is a book of tears and anger). It was written in the aphoristic style which Nietzsche has made so popular in Germany and with an untrammeled emotional sincerity which the German public likes in its masculine poets but deprecates in a woman writer. Here are a few characteristic sentences:

The celebrated intuition of woman is nothing but an astonishing refinement of the sensibilities through fear and trembling.

The life of woman is one long waiting. Nothing is

more exhausting, nothing makes one so nervous, as continuously to wait. But waiting was made the life task of her sex.

No human being, no class, no sex, can long endure unlimited authority without stern responsibility. Man and woman should hold the balance and keep the world in equilibrium. The inferiorizing of woman has disturbed this equilibrium: the man has degenerated into a tyrant, the woman into a slave.

The man will yet prepare great surprises for himself in the moral field: he has not the least idea *how well he can control himself.*

Dear friend, we have had enough of being your devoted servants, your cleaning and scrubbing women, your maids to put things in order, your healing assistants. It no longer becomes us only to mend what you have torn, to patch, to paste what you have broken; this is of little service to us. . . .

We will ourselves design, dip into the reservoirs, lay out large plans. We will create. And we are ready to bear our responsibility.

What the sexes need is not completion—thereby the woman fares badly—but mutuality.

IV

This much discussed polemic of Käthe Schirmacher's has often been criticized on the ground that it blames the masculine sex alone for conditions which women have helped to

create. The same criticism certainly cannot be made against another feminist thinker, Marie Louise Enckendorff, whose book on *Reality and Legality in Sexual Life* is much more occupied with the castigation of her own sex than with the arraignment of the governing sex. With the moral relentlessness of a Savonarola, she charges women with consenting to their own inferiority. They have refused, she says, as a sex, to accept the task which men, as a sex, have accepted. There may be exceptional individuals in both sexes, but the proof of the woman's guilt is her present position. "One half of humanity has sold out to the other half."

This is a novel and healthy point of view for feminist circles which have grown too accustomed to the invariable formula of the "enslavement of woman." It is ethically desirable that women who take a broad interest in the position of their sex—they are, of course, the feminists—should also take a more critical attitude toward its origin. Marie Enckendorff goes so far as to say that woman's subjection was not due to her weaker physique or even to her defenselessness at the time of childbirth, but to her moral defectiveness. She thought that she was "good" if she let her life be taken

away from her. "Where were the women when the world was divided?" And she chides them for having chosen the petty fear of an individual master instead of the great struggle for existence.

All human beings strive somehow, sometime, to find a shelter against life. It is customary to distinguish individuals by how soon or how late they do it. For fear of life they creep under any sort of cover that shuts it off, a post, an institution, a religious faith, in which they may sit down and rest. But the instant this happens, the pulsating inner life ceases. In the case of women, this sitting down to rest is the thing with which they begin. It is a principle of their lives, not merely a tiresome necessity.

Here, at last, is a feminist who talks about woman's duty instead of her rights. It is, however, a new duty—the duty of self-defense and self-assertion. She also talks about the guilt of woman. But the mother of sin was not the tempter of Adam; she was the betrayer of her sex.

If ever there was a first and individual woman who —by analogy with the "contrat social"—went voluntarily to the man and said: "Protect me from the enemy and from hunger and let me believe in your gods, and I will serve you, bear your children, and

you shall be my master."—If that woman ever existed, who, out of fear of life and its inward and outward experiences, was glad to give herself, body and soul, to a fellow-creature, and bequeathed this position to her sex—she was in truth the mother of sin.

From her the line of descent takes a direct course, through the good Christian married wife on downward into the darkest hell of prostitution; to the oppression of women and the contempt of women in every form; to the self-contempt of women in every form. Woman stands guilty in the world; guilty before Nature; in which all that does not strongly defend itself is guilty and is punished, in which to him that hath shall be given that he shall have more and from him that hath not shall be taken that which he hath. Guilty before the great human task.

The passing of chivalry with the advance of the woman movement is explained by Marie Enckendorff as a part of the gradual democratization of the human mind.

It was one of the ancient practices of humanity that human beings deified other human beings. From the divine kings and royal gods of the earliest naïve periods, this custom extended on down through the god-incarnations of the later religions to the erotic idealization of woman. Man wished to see divinity, to touch it. But belief in divine revelation is passing out of the world, and with it is passing one of its forms, the nimbus of woman. The empirical man

of to-day has too much contact on all sides, is too reflective; kings [2] and priests are too visible and too near—we can no longer deify each other. King and priest must take their places in the ranks, which are more seriously banded together than ever, and the woman must take her place beside the man. Similarly, we once stood before a de-idolized Nature, in which divinity had been said to dwell, like the Dryads in the trees. But as the undeified Nature has grown more powerful, more divine and more infinite through its unsentimental and unmythological divinity, so has the undeified human being grown more divine.

Belief in Gods and belief in authority are wavering in the modern world. What must take its place is the feeling of personal responsibility which rests on all alike, the need that each shall feel himself a soldier in the foremost ranks. . . . Along with this change in modern times, which takes away the woman's nimbus, arises the demand to be something, which faces her with an unprecedented seriousness and urgency. And she will fulfill this demand, because she must. The wheel of the world's evolution does not turn backward and she will not again be crowned as a goddess. Otherwise, she will remain in a transformed world, without a place in the void. The only ethical course for her is to meet the requirements of her age, whatever the resulting difficulties of life may be, even if she is thereby con-

[2] The New Danish constitution gives the king as well as the women a right to vote.

demned to enter a stage of exaggeration and anarchy. The only ethical course for woman—also for her as a sex being—is the struggle for an independent human personality.

V

The program of feminism is not the mere imitation of masculine gestures and motions. The program of feminism is the development of a new science of womanhood. It is true that an important part of the program is the reinstatement of woman as a human being, and the pattern of the human being as we know him has been cut to fit the masculine personality. Most of the wants of women have exactly the same justification as the wants of men and there is nothing new about them, except that the sex whose chief characteristic is "wantlessness" is beginning to acquire them. But there is every need that women should not follow blindly in the path of their brothers but should test the way ahead of them as they go. This can only be done by ordered thought and research.

It was Luther who said that, "No cloak or dress so ill becomes a maid or wife as the wish to be clever." The founder of Protestantism would assuredly be appalled at the number of

thinking women in Germany to-day, women who philosophize in the open and publish their ideas over their own unabashed signatures. But in the midst of a discussion which sometimes seems to be too academic and theoretical, voices are not lacking which boldly say with Anna Von Nathasius, "We have talked enough of woman's emancipation. Let us begin to live it. No philosophy carries such conviction as the personal life."

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